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A HISTORY
OF
TAXATION AND TAXES
IN ENGLAND

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

STEPHEN DOWELL

ASSISTANT SOLICITOR OF INLAND REVENUE

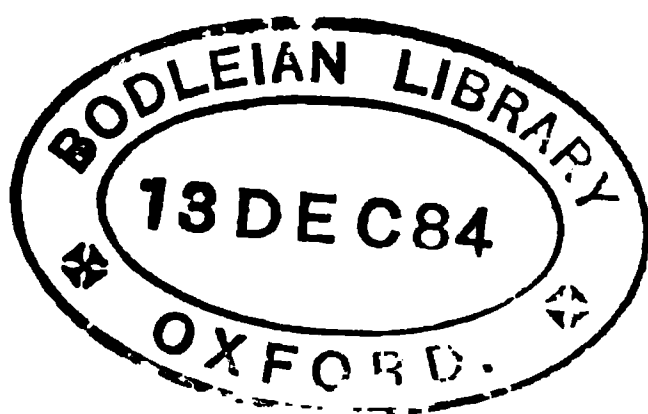
VOL. IV.

TAXES ON ARTICLES OF CONSUMPTION

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1884

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HISTORY
OF
TAXATION AND TAXES

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CHAPTER I.

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UNDER the system of taxation of articles of consumption, introduced into this country, in imitation of the Dutch system, by the parliament in the civil war, salt made within the commonwealth was charged at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}d.$, and foreign salt at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}d.$, the gallon. Subsequently, the excise on home-made salt was repealed on account of its unpopularity; but foreign salt, of which the annual consumption was considerable, continued to be charged with duty.

The excises, except those on liquors, ceased with the commonwealth; but after the Restoration, salt continued to be subject to a duty on importation; and in the war with France, after the Revolution, in 1694, 3d. the gallon was added to this duty, and a duty was again imposed, of $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ the gallon, upon 'all salt and rock salt made at the salt works or taken out of any

pits in England and Wales.’¹ In 1698, 3½*d.* the gallon was added on home-made salt, and 7*d.* for salt imported.²

The salt tax proved a burden to the poor, injurious in its operation on many of our manufactures, more particularly the curing and dressing of leather and the manufacture of glass bottles, and antagonistic to the success of our fisheries, which form the nursery of our seamen, but more particularly to the herring fishery, in which we had the Dutch for rivals. It was also extremely unpopular,³ no doubt in a considerable degree from its resemblance to the hated *gabelle* of France, a country always regarded by Englishmen as the hotbed of oppressive taxes. For these reasons it was repealed by Walpole in 1730.⁴

But only two years after the repeal, this objectionable tax was revived with a view to enable Walpole to keep the land tax at a low rate.⁵ To this reimposition of the salt tax was due in no small degree the inclination of popular opinion to believe in his willingness to introduce a general excise, of which advantage was taken by his political opponents on the introduction of his Excise Bill in 1733.

The duty was raised by North, in the war of American Independence, to 5*s.* the bushel, and by Pitt, in the war with France, to 10*s.* This was in 1798, when the caricatures of the day represent the astonishment of the cook at finding ‘Billy’ Pitt in her salt box.

¹ 5 & 6 Will. & Mar. c. 7.

² 9 & 10 Will. III. c. 44.

³ See Har. Misc. v. 277.

⁴ 3 Geo. II. c. 20.

⁵ 5 Geo. II. c. 6. Continued by subsequent Acts, made perpetual and carried to the sinking fund by 26 Geo. II. c. 3.

In 1803 the net yield was, in England, 880,000*l.* and in Scotland, 57,000*l.* ; forming for Great Britain a total of 937,000*l.*

Early in the present century, a committee of the house of commons, after an inquiry into the circumstances of the tax, condemned it, and advised that it should be repealed. But any repeal or reduction of taxation was rendered impossible by the course of events, and after the recommencement of the war, the duty was raised by Pitt, in his last budget, in 1805, for home-made salt, to the excessive rate of 15*s.* the bushel, a tax of thirty times the price of the salt,¹ with a considerable addition to the duty on imported salt.

In 1815 the yield, in Great Britain, was about 1,600,000*l.*²

In February, 1822, the universal desire for some remission of the excessive taxation to which the country was subjected found expression in a vote of the House for the gradual repeal of this tax ; and on opening the budget, Vansittart proposed to reduce the duty at once from 15*s.* to 2*s.*, at an estimated loss of 1,400,000*l.*, and to repeal the tax in 1825.³

This proposal was carried into effect ; and at the date of the repeal the yield was about 380,000*l.*

It may be interesting to note that the abolition of this tax, by cheapening one of the chief ingredients in the manufacture of glass, enabled the illicit manu-

¹ 45 Geo. III. c. 14.

² The net produce of the duty on imported salt was in 1815, 548*l.* ; and in 1816, 1,562*l.*

³ 3 Geo. IV. c. 82.

facturer to compete successfully with the fair trader, and thus afforded to the commissioners of excise enquiry, when reporting on the tax on that manufacture, one of the many cogent arguments they adduced in support of their advice that it should at once be repealed.

CHAPTER II.

THE TAX ON CORN, MORE PARTICULARLY WHEAT.

The corn laws of ancient times. Improvement in agriculture in the seventeenth century. A considerable export trade commences, principally to Holland, about 1700-10; and is fostered by bounties. Restrictions on the importation of corn, relaxed in 1756 and 1767. New law in 1773. We begin to be consumers of foreign corn. Changes in the law in 1791, and in 1804. Napoleon's Berlin decrees, the principal cause of the new corn law of 1815. The sliding scale of 1828. Yield of the duties in 1840. Lord John Russell's proposal for a fixed duty. Peel's sliding scale. The anti-corn law League. The potato famine in Ireland. Peel reduces the duties to 1s. the quarter. The yield in 1849 and 1869. Repeal of the duty.

THIS tax derives its special importance from the question of protection to the agricultural interest it involved, more than from any consideration of the amount of revenue it produced.

For ages comparatively little wheaten bread was consumed in England. The people continued to be consumers of meat, fresh and salted, in larger quantities than the people of any other nation, and milk formed a most important article of their food. In short, we perpetuated the tradition of Tacitus: *lacte et carne vivunt*. Wheat was not cultivated here to any great extent during the middle ages; and in Tudor times the price we obtained for our wool and cloth, and skins and leather, had the effect of turning the country into a vast sheep and cattle farm. During

these times the consumption of good wheaten bread as an ordinary article of food was limited to persons in easy circumstances; the price of the different sorts of bread was regulated under the assize of bread and ale; and it was our policy to prohibit the exportation of wheat when the price attained or exceeded a certain figure, and the importation of it when the price fell to or was below another stated figure.

A considerable improvement in agriculture was already visible in many parts of England, more particularly near the capital, in the eleven home counties, when, in 1647, it received an impulse from a prohibition of the exportation of wool and leather, which turned the attention of the owners of land to the sources other than the feeding of sheep and cattle for their wool and skins to which land might be applied. It received a second impulse when the Protector's parliament, observing that, in consequence of 'the great improvement of fens, forests, chases, and other lands, we had a great redundancy of corn, cattle, butter, cheese, and divers other commodities much desired by and of great use to other nations and the plantations abroad,' permitted the exportation of these articles, under certain restrictions, which as regards wheat were imposed when the price exceeded 40s. a quarter. Long before the end of the century, sir William Petty estimates 'the corn spent in England, at 5s. per bushel wheat, and 2s. 6d. barley, to be worth ten millions, communibus annis,' and suggests that in years of great plenty there was sometimes such a surplusage that it 'should be sent to public store-

houses, from thence to be disposed of to the best advantage of the public.' ¹

In the first decade of the eighteenth century we became considerable exporters of corn. Davenant, writing in 1711, says: 'Corn is in a manner a new exportation, arising to us from the war, which has in other countries so employed the hands of their people that they could not till the ground, or from dearths and plagues wherewith divers nations have been afflicted for these last twenty-three years. Formerly we carried grain from the port of London, and but in small quantities, only to Holland, Spain, Denmark, Africa, the plantations, Italy, and Portugal, and to these countries, for 1662 to 1663, to the value of 4,315*l.*; for 1668 to 1669, to the value of 2,011*l.* Whereas now we export grain of all sorts to Africa, the Canaries, Denmark and Norway, East Country, Flanders, France, Germany, Holland, Ireland, Italy, Madeira, Newfoundland, Portugal, Russia, Scotland, Spain, Sweden, Venice, Guernsey, and the English plantations, by a medium of years from Christmas 1699 to Christmas 1710, to the value of 274,141*l.*; whereof by the same medium of years there was entered for exportation to Holland in particular, to the value of 151,934*l.*' ² To such an extent did the legislature encourage exportation, that not only were all export duties on corn repealed, but also bounties were given to foster exportation.

¹ Political Arithmetic, chap. ii., Essays, ed. 1699, p. 205.

² Report to the Commissioners for Stating the Public Accounts, Part ii. Works, v. 424.

On the other hand, the importation of corn was hindered by severe restrictions. These were, however, relaxed on special occasions, when, in consequence of bad harvests, the price of wheat was seriously increased, as happened in 1756 and 1767, when we permitted the introduction, for a limited time, of a foreign supply on easier terms;¹ and at last, in 1773, the home market was opened to foreign supplies at prices considerably lower than before.² From this date England became gradually a larger consumer of grain from foreign countries, and the balance of our imports of grain, taken upon a number of years, began to exceed the balance of our exports.³

In 1791 the corn law was changed by Pitt. When the price of wheat stood at 54*s.* the quarter, or above that price, wheat might be imported at a duty of 6*d.*; when it ranged from 54*s.* to 50*s.*, the duty was 2*s.* 6*d.*; and when it fell below 50*s.*, the duty was raised to a figure practically prohibitory.⁴ In 1793, two years after the passing of the new corn law, the average price of wheat per imperial quarter for the year was 49*s.* 3*d.*, and consequently foreign wheat was excluded from England. But in this year power was given to the king, on occasion, to prohibit the exportation of corn, meal, and flour, and to permit the importation of a supply from abroad at the low duties.⁵ This power it

¹ See Cabinet Memorandum, Nov. 29, 1845; Sir R. Peel's *Memoirs*, ii. 189.

² 13 Geo. III. c. 43.

³ Huskisson, *Speech on Parnell's Resolutions on the state of the corn laws*, May 5, 1814. *Life*, i. 292.

⁴ 24*s.* 3*d.* 31 Geo. III. c. 30, Table D. ⁵ 33 Geo. III. c. 65. s. 6.

was unnecessary to exercise in 1795 and 1796, when the price of wheat ran far beyond the statutory 54s., viz. to 75s. the quarter. At such a price, the 6*d.* duty appeared to be excessive, and accordingly, in the first of these years, power had been given to the king to permit the importation of corn and of other articles of provision for a limited time, without payment of any duty; and in 1796 this power was renewed by an Act passed at the commencement of the session. Finally, in 1799, when the average price of wheat was 69s., the Legislature sanctioned the importation of corn and other articles of provision, without payment of duty, until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of Parliament. Such was the difference between the law and the practice as regards the exclusion of corn from England during the eighteenth century.

In 1804 the 'second low duty,' as it was termed, the 6*d.* duty, was brought into operation when the price was at or above 66s.; the 'first low duty,' the 2s. 6*d.* duty, when the price was from 66s. to 63s.; and the 'high duty' of 24s. 3*d.*, when the price was under 63s. the quarter.¹

When Napoleon's anti-commercial system collapsed after the campaign in Russia, a considerable quantity of wheat, banked up in reserve on the continent, was poured at once into the English market, and caused a considerable fall in the price of grain. Such falls as this strike hard the agricultural labourers, whose

¹ 44 Geo. III. c. 109.

earnings approach nearest to the amount necessary for mere existence : and, in the hope of preventing great fluctuations in the price of corn, which were regarded as necessarily the result of any system that permitted the importation of foreign corn ; a consideration that the quantity of land brought under cultivation in the war was such as to render the home supply sufficient for the wants of the nation ; a regard for the special taxation at this date borne by the land ; and lastly, and perhaps mainly, in view of the danger of a reliance upon foreign countries for a supply of necessaries which might be cut off by a powerful enemy in time of war—on these grounds, the new corn law of 1815 was passed.

In 1815 the yield of the duties on imported corn, grain, meal, and flour was 28,044*l.* ; but the new Act, passed in March, abolished the duties from that date. Corn was now allowed to be imported, warehoused, and exported, free of duty, so that the country might be an entrepôt for corn ; but until the price of wheat reached 80*s.* the quarter, an absolute prohibition was imposed on the delivery of wheat out of warehouse, and the importation of it, for home consumption.¹ This Act was amended in 1822, and in 1828 a sliding scale was established, under which a duty of 25*s.* 8*d.* was imposed upon wheat when the price was under 62*s.* and not under 61*s.* the quarter, with an additional shilling for every shilling by which the price fell below that figure, and, on the other hand, duties at reduced rates, when the price rose above that figure, which

¹ 55 Geo. III. c. 26.

were, at 70s., 10s. 8d. ; 72s., 2s. 8d. ; and at 73s. and above that price, 1s. the quarter.¹

In 1840, the yield was 1,156,630l.

In the next year, when lord John Russell proposed to substitute, for the sliding scale, a fixed duty of 8s. the quarter, he was defeated, on a division, by Peel, who, coming into office upon this basis, subsequently revised the existing scale. But the agitation of the Anti-Corn Law League formed in 1838, the arguments of Cobden, and the oratory of Bright, had begun to have their effect, and public opinion already showed a disinclination to continue protection to the agricultural interest, as against the demand for cheap bread for an increasing population, when the potato famine in Ireland precipitated a crisis, forced Peel's hand, and compelled him to open the ports, which, once open, could not, it was clear, again be closed.

The Act of 1846 effected an immediate reduction of the duties, and fixed from February 1, 1849, the duty for corn at a nominal rate, or registration fee, of 1s. the quarter.²

In 1849 the yield was 561,481l. It had increased to 900,000l. in 1869, when the tax was repealed by Lowe. 'It contained in itself,' he said, 'all possible objections to a tax, and prevented the country becoming the great entrepôt of corn.'

But wheat is brought into this country for food rather than for exportation ; and ten years after this, in 1879, when the declared value of imported wheat was no less than 31,468,171l., the value of exported

¹ 9 Geo. IV. c. 60.

² 9 & 10 Vict. c. 22.

wheat was only 270,624*l.* ; we retained to the value of 31,197,547*l.* for home consumption. It may be added that the consumption of other kinds of imported corn and grain was nearly to the value of 11,000,000*l.* ; that of wheat meal, and flour, nearly 8,500,000*l.* ; and that of maize, about 9,500,000*l.*

In 1880, the export was 554,000*l.*, as against a home consumption of wheat of 30,000,000*l.* in value ; and in 1881, 425,000*l.*, as against 31,100,000*l.*

CHAPTER III.

THE TAXES ON IMPORTED CATTLE, SHEEP AND PIGS, AND MEAT, FRESH AND SALTED.

The practically prohibitory duties reduced, by Peel, in 1842. Repeal of these taxes, except that on hams, in 1846. The tax on hams repealed in 1853.

THE prohibitions or duties practically prohibitory imposed upon the importation of foreign cattle, sheep, and pigs, and foreign beef and bacon, were removed by Peel on his first revision of the tariff in 1842. To take the article bacon, so important in the food list of the people—the duty was reduced from 28*s.* the cwt. to 14*s.* for foreign bacon, and 3*s.* 6*d.* for bacon from British possessions.¹ The other reductions it may be unnecessary to state in detail, for in 1846, the tariff was cleared of the duties on cattle, sheep, and pigs, which were given to the people untaxed, together with beef, bacon, pork, and all other meat, salted or fresh, except only hams, for which a reduced duty was charged, of 7*s.* the cwt. These repeals and this reduction formed part of Goulburn's budget of that year. The duty on hams was repealed by Gladstone in 1853.

¹ The duty on bacon in the tariff of 1787 had been 2*l.* 7*s.* the cwt., 27 Geo. III. c. 13.

Post hoc, and, certainly to a considerable extent, propter hoc, the import of foreign bacon and hams which, in 1852, had been under 14,000 cwt., rose in 1866 to 57,800 cwt.

In 1879, the declared value of imported bacon and hams retained for home consumption in the United Kingdom, was 8,339,790*l.*; in 1880, about 10,200,000*l.*; and in 1881, 10,113,000*l.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE TAXES ON IMPORTED BUTTER AND CHEESE.

IN former times we had an abundant, and sometimes a superabundant, supply of these articles of food at home, but for a long time a license from the lord chancellor was necessary for the exportation of them to any place except the place where the staple was established. In the reign of Henry VI. this requirement was abolished, and the exportation was allowed to any realm in amity with England, without any license, the king having power to restrain it at his pleasure.¹ Subsequently, under Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth, licenses were again required; but in 1670 butter and cheese were allowed to be exported on payment of the export duties, and in 1691, for the encouragement of the breeding and fattening of cattle, these articles, as well as beef, pork and candles, were allowed to be exported duty free.²

Meanwhile, in 1680, the importation of them had been prohibited; but, in time, the prohibition was removed, and they were allowed to be imported on payment of duties.

¹ 18 Hen. VI. c. 3.

² 3 Will. & Mar. c. 8.

Butter.

The duty in Pitt's tariff of 1787. Yield of the tax in 1815, and in 1840. The duty reduced by Peel. The yield in 1849, and in 1852. The duty reduced by Gladstone in 1853, and in 1860 is repealed.

In Pitt's tariff of 1787, the duty on butter was 2s. 6d. the cwt.; and in 1815 the duties then charged produced in Great Britain 32,176*l*.

In 1840 the produce in the United Kingdom was 277,377*l*. Reduced by Peel, in his operations on the tariff, the tax produced subsequently, in 1849, 137,844*l*.

In 1852, the entries of butter for consumption amounted to 287,266 cwt., and the revenue to 143,341*l*.; and in the next year the duty of 10s. the cwt. on butter from a foreign country was reduced by Gladstone to 5s., and that on butter from a British possession to 2s. 6*d*., the cwt. Finally, in 1860, the tax was repealed by the same hand, at a cost to the revenue of 95,000*l*.

The import immediately doubled. In 1879, the declared value of imported butter retained for home consumption in the United Kingdom was over 10,100,000*l*.; in 1880, nearly 12,000,000*l*.; and in 1881, 10,500,000*l*.

Cheese.

Yield of the duty in 1815 and in 1840. Peel reduces the duty in 1842 and again in 1845. Gladstone, in 1853, reduces the duty and, in 1860, repeals it.

In 1815 the duty on imported cheese produced in Great Britain 23,439*l*.; and in 1840 the yield for the United Kingdom was 117,677*l*. In 1842 Peel,

on his first revision of the tariff, reduced the duty, then 10s. 6*d.* the cwt., to 2s. 6*d.* for cheese from a British possession ; and, in 1845, further reduced the duties to 5s. for foreign cheese, and to 1s. 6*d.* for cheese from a British possession.

Gladstone, pursuing the same course, reduced in 1853 the duty for foreign cheese to 2s. 6*d.* the cwt., and in 1860 wholly repealed the tax. It produced at that date 44,000*l.*¹

In 1869, the declared value of the quantity of imported cheese retained for home consumption in the United Kingdom was 3,700,000*l.*; in 1880, over 4,900,000*l.*; and in 1881, 5,100,000*l.*

¹ The repeal of the duty on eggs at the same time cost another 22,000*l.* The declared value of the eggs imported and retained for home consumption in 1869 was 2,295,000*l.*

CHAPTER V.

THE TAX ON SUGAR.

Honey anciently used for sweetening purposes. Sugar imported into England after the Crusades. Its importance noted in 'The Libel of English Policy' and in 'the New Atalantis.' Progress of the cultivation of the sugar cane. Barbadoes the first English sugar ground. Jamaica ceded to us in 1670. Sugar taxed under the commonwealth. We 'gain our sugar trade from Lisbon.' Dudley North's suggestion for a special tax on sugar, 1685. A tax imposed for eight years, determines in 1693. Increase in the consumption of sugar. The punch-bowl and tea and coffee cups assist in the process. Sugar further taxed in the war of the Spanish Succession. The practical monopoly of Jamaica. The 'plantation duties,' 1733. A 'bounty' granted on refined sugar exported. The home consumption in 1734. Pelham's proposal for an additional duty in 1744, defeated by Carteret. Another proposal, in 1759, by Legge, opposed by Beckford, and dropped. The average consumption from 1770-5. Arthur Young notes the increase in the use of sugar. Adam Smith considers sugar a proper subject for taxation. The tax raised by North, in 1781, and by Pitt, in 1787 and 1791. The yield in 1793. The tax raised on seven occasions in the war. The yield in 1815. Only part of the war duty taken off in 1816. The yield in 1827. Altered position of sugar. Huskisson advises a reduction of the duty, and Parnell and Poulett Thompson the admission of foreign sugars. The sugar question raises the question of protection. Effect of the emancipation of the slaves in Jamaica, 1834. Deficiency in the supply. Our refining business for exportation lost. The yield in 1841 and 1842. Reduction of duty for foreign sugar, by Peel, in 1844 and 1845; applies only to free-labour sugar. All foreign sugars admitted at equal rates in 1846. Gradual equalisation of the duties on foreign and colonial sugar. Effect of free trade in sugar. Classification of sugars. The duty raised in the war with Russia. The yield in 1861 and in 1863. Reduction of the duties by Gladstone in 1864. The yield in 1866 and 1867. The duties reduced by a moiety, in 1870, by Lowe. The yield in 1873. Third reduction of the duties. Repeal of the tax by Stafford Northcote in 1874. Table of the rates of duty for 1864, 1867, 1870, and 1873.

For ages the inhabitants of this country used honey for sweetening purposes. The sugar cane, cultivated from time immemorial in India and Arabia, became known to the Western world through the conquests of Alexander. And subsequently Lucan mentions, as among the Eastern auxiliaries of Pompey, the sugar drinkers :—

Quique bibunt tenera dulces ab arundine succos.

But sugar continued to be practically unknown to Englishmen until the crusaders tasted the juice of the cane on the shores of Tripoli. By this time the cane had been carried by the Arabians to Cyprus, Rhodes, and Sicily, where it is mentioned as cultivated by Sanuto in his '*Secreta Fidelium crucis*.' Joinville also in his '*Histoire de St. Louis*,' writing of a place called Passe-Poulain, mentions the clear streams with which they water the plant from which sugar is derived :—'*De mout beles eaues de quoy l'on arose ce dont li sucres vient.*'

The commerce which, after the crusades, commenced between western Europe and the East, supplied us with this new article of luxury, which was imported into England in the vessels of the great Italian towns that date their rise to commercial importance from the time of the crusades. Henceforth sugar, in various forms, was an article of ordinary consumption at the tables of the rich ; and Chaucer, in the ballad of sir Topas, mentions 'sugar that is trie,' refined sugar.

The importance of this article of commerce is recognised in the '*Libel of English Policy*,' 1436, the

author of which condemns many of the commodities and 'nycetes imported by the galees of Venees and Florence,' as 'chaffare that is wastable and might be forborne ;' but adds :—

And yet if there should excepte by ony thyng,
It were but sugre, trust to my seyinge.

And subsequently Bacon, writing in the times of sugar and sack, allows, in 'New Atalantis,' to the inventor of sugars a statue in Solomon's House.

From Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete and Sicily, the sugar cane may be traced, in its progress westwards, to Spain, where it was cultivated in that fertile plain between the Sierra Nevada and the sea, which the Moors rendered the paradise of the western world. To Madeira and the Canaries it was carried by the Spaniards and the Portuguese, and the latter were the first to introduce, if not the cane, the art of making sugar from the cane, into the New World. The first English sugar ground was Barbadoes. We took possession of the island in the third decade of the seventeenth century, established sugar plantations there, and commenced to export sugar about the middle of the century.

In Jamaica, only three small sugar plantations existed when the island was conquered for us by Cromwell's admirals Penn and Venables in 1656 ; but others were soon established by settlers from Barbadoes and England, and in this condition the island was ceded to us in 1670 by the treaty of Madrid.

Meanwhile sugar had been subjected, under the

commonwealth, to an excise in addition to the duty on importation, in a list of taxable articles which mentions the several sorts—of Barbary, candy-white, candy-brown, white of Lisbon, and Muscovadoes and refined sugar of Lisbon, and St. Thome and Pannelis.¹ But by lowering the price of our Barbadoes sugar we beat the Brazil sugar of Lisbon out of the market; and eventually, discontinuing to import sugar from Lisbon, derived almost the whole of our supply from our own plantations. This is what Childe terms gaining our trade in sugar from Lisbon.

On the accession of James II. to the throne, when it was found necessary to provide some addition to the revenue, an additional tax was imposed upon sugar. This was done on the suggestion of Dudley North, who, originally a Turkey merchant, and afterwards, in succession, a commissioner of the customs and a commissioner of the treasury, had now returned to the board of customs and managed this affair for the lord treasurer, Rochester.

The tax was not imposed without considerable opposition from the merchants, and, granted for eight years only, determined in 1693. Added to the customs, it operated to the disadvantage of our refiners as compared with their rivals, the Dutch refiners, whom we ‘put by law,’ as Cary writes, ‘on terms of working sugars 3s. per cent. cheaper than our own;’ and in consequence of our imprudence and the industry of the Dutch, we lost our trade in refined

¹ Scobell, Acts and Ordinances, Part II., p. 469.

sugar to northern Spain, and, in short, were 'beat out of the trade.'¹

As sugar cheapened in price, the home consumption in England continued to increase day by day. Before the war with France 'a tun of sugars, which cost a few years previously from 6*l.* to 8*l.* freight from the plantations, was commonly brought home for 4*l.* 10*s.*;' in 'ships built more for stowage and made strong enough to carry between decks,' laden by means of 'cranes and blocks, by which more could be drawn up for one shilling, than men's labour could do for five.' The 'refiner of sugars now went through in a month the operation his forefathers required four months to effect,' and within a period of twenty years, the price of refined sugar was reduced by half. In 1700 the consumption of sugar, for Great Britain, was about 10,000 tons. The punch-bowl and the tea and coffee cups now proved excellent collectors of a revenue from this source. An additional duty of 3*s.* 5*d.* the cwt., imposed in the war of the Spanish Succession, did not impede the progress of the consumption, and in 1710 it had increased to 14,000 tons.

After the exhaustion of the productive powers of Barbadoes, the Jamaica planters had a practical monopoly of the supply of sugar. This they endeavoured, by all the means in their power, to retain; while the mother-country, in return for her protection of their interests, continued practically to limit their market to Great Britain. In this view when, in 1731, on representations made by the planters, we permitted sugar

¹ *Essay on Trade*, A.D. 1695, p. 73.

to be exported to all parts of the world,¹ we granted that liberty with such restrictions as to render it practically ineffectual. While in the other view, in 1733, when the planters began to complain of their inability to compete with the foreign sugar colonies, we protected them by imposing in America what were termed the 'plantation duties'—on rum, molasses, and sugar imported from foreign into British plantations;² and increased the drawback for refined sugar to a BOUNTY—not only in the language of the customs, in which the term was used to signify an allowance on exportation in respect of a manufactured article in a different form from the imported duty-paid article from which it was made, but a bounty, *in the full sense of the term*, in favour of the export trade.

In 1734, the home consumption for Great Britain was estimated at 42,000 tons; and before Pelham came into power, as it was considered that sugar could now easily bear an additional tax, a project for an addition was started. But when Pelham adopted this and introduced into the House a proposal for an additional 2s. 6d. the cwt., estimated to produce 80,000*l.* a year, he was defeated by a stratagem of his vivacious and intractable colleague, Carteret, who was pleased thus to disappoint him in his particular department of supply.

The consumption rose, in 1754, to 53,270 tons; and in 1759 another attempt was made, by Legge, to increase the duty, for the purposes of the Seven Years'

¹ As one of the enumerated commodities, sugar under the provisions of the Navigation Act could be exported only to Great Britain.

² These plantation duties were subsequently quoted as a precedent for imposing Imperial taxes in America.

War ; but this failed in consequence of the opposition of alderman Beckford, who had considerable possessions in Jamaica, and who, using his influence with Pitt, induced him to compel Newcastle and Legge to drop the project and, in lieu thereof, to impose an additional duty on dry goods in general, termed the subsidy of 1759.

The consumption continued to increase, and was on an average from 1770–5 72,000 tons per annum. The demand for sugar was extending rapidly among the farmers and the agricultural class generally, whose increasing expenditure on this article of luxury, as Arthur Young considered it, is noted with reprobation in numerous passages in his ‘Farmer’s Tour’ and ‘Six Weeks’ Tour.’ In the same view Adam Smith, in his ‘Wealth of Nations,’ first published in 1776, ranks sugar with rum and tobacco : commodities, he says, which are nowhere necessities of life, which have become objects of almost universal consumption, and which are, therefore, extremely proper subjects for taxation.

In the war of American Independence sugar was not specially taxed until 1781, when North, compelled to have recourse to a really productive tax, raised the duty by 4*s.* 8*d.*, viz. from 6*s.* 8*d.* the cwt. to 11*s.* 4*d.* ; to produce an additional 326,000*l.* per annum. Pitt added another 1*s.* in 1787, raising the duty to 12*s.* 4*d.* the cwt., which fell upon an average consumption from 1787–90 of 81,000 tons.

In 1791, Pitt used the duty on sugar as one of the taxes to be increased for the temporary purpose of

meeting the expenses of the Nootka Sound armament, raising it to 15s. the cwt. to produce an additional 241,000*l.*; and this increase was subsequently, after the outbreak of the war with revolutionary France, made perpetual. On the eve of the war, the yield in Great Britain was 1,316,500*l.* from 83,800 tons retained for home consumption.¹

In the war, the duty was raised, between 1793 and 1807, no less than seven times, exclusive of the occasion on which the addition for the Nootka Sound armament was made perpetual, viz.: in 1797, by 2s. 6*d.*; in 1798, by 1s. 6*d.*; and in 1799, by 1s. At 20s. the cwt. the tax yielded in 1802, 2,210,000*l.* The additions made, when, after the peace of Amiens, the war broke out again in 1803, were 20 per cent. on the duty in that year, 12½ per cent. in 1804, 2½ per cent. in 1805, and 15 per cent. in 1806, when the income tax was raised to 10 per cent. by the ministry known as ‘All the Talents,’ who came into office after the death of Pitt. In 1815, the yield of the duty at 1*l.* 10s. the cwt., after deducting drawbacks and bounties amounting to 1,552,000*l.*, was 2,957,403*l.* 1793.

At the close of the war, Vansittart was only able to take off, in 1816, 3s. of the 9s. 6*d.* which was scheduled in the Customs Act as the temporary or war duty on sugar; and in 1827 the tax at the rate of 1*l.* 7s. produced 4,218,000*l.* from a consumption of 151,000 tons. Sugar had now altered in position in our food list, and was no longer so much the luxury it had been deemed by Arthur Young and Adam Smith,

¹ Parnell, Financial Reform, Appendix II.

as an ordinary article of consumption ; in which view, Huskisson, in the debate in 1829, on Grant's motion for a reduction of the duty, complained that the high price of sugar, in consequence of the duty, prevented the poor working man with a large family, to whom pence were a serious consideration, from using the commodity.

To lower the price of sugar, by reducing the duty, Goulburn, in 1830, took 3s. the cwt. off the duty for colonial sugar, which was reimposed in the annual Act for the purpose at the rate of 1*l.* 4s., as against 1*l.* 12s. for East Indian, and 3*l.* 3s. for foreign sugar. 'This measure Parnell considered to be 'a great error,' on the ground that the increasing consumption of sugar notwithstanding the high duty, proved that the reduction of this tax 'should not have preceded the reduction of other duties which did, beyond all doubt, diminish consumption, and consequently revenue.' The proper course to obtain more sugar would have been to remove the restrictions upon the freer use of it, viz. the protecting duties on East Indian and foreign sugars, and the prohibition of refining it in the colonies for importation into the United Kingdom. An equal duty on all sugar at the old rate of 1*l.* 7s. would have increased the consumption and the revenue derived from this source. 'The necessity of raising a revenue of 50,000,000*l.* makes sugar,' he writes, 'in every way a fit subject of even high taxation. It is a luxury in universal use ; a small quantity of it goes a long way ; the duty is very easily collected ; it is an article that is not smuggled ; and 1*l.* 7s. per cwt. (about 100 per

cent.) is not a higher rate of duty per cent. than the duty on the greater part of the coffee, which is abundantly consumed.'¹ Poulett Thompson also advised a reduction in the practically prohibitive duties on foreign as opposed to plantation or colonial sugar, while he concurred in opinion with Parnell as to the necessity of deriving, under the existing circumstances, a considerable revenue from this article, as also did Peel and Baring. There was no substantial difference of opinion upon the fiscal point; and the question of the sugar duties which occupied so much attention from this date to the ministry of Peel was, in effect, the question of the protection of colonial sugar.

After 1834, our supply of sugar began to fall short of our requirements. While Jamaica had been cultivated by means of slave labour, we had received from thence enough sugar for our home consumption and a considerable business of refining for export trade; but after the emancipation of the slaves, the supply, though supplemented by an increasing supply from the Mauritius and the East Indies, proved barely sufficient for a home consumption which continued rapidly to increase, and the result was that no sugar was left for the refining business for the foreign market, and that industry was almost annihilated.

In 1836, the duty on sugar from Bengal was reduced to 1*l.* 4*s.* the cwt.² Baring, at first, in 1840 increased the duties by his 5 per cent. on the customs; but, in 1841, proposed to obtain additional revenue by

¹ Financial Reform, p. 56.

² 6 & 7 Will. IV. c. 26.

lowering the protective duties on this article and on timber. The eight days' debate famous in the history of the question of sugar followed. The proposals of Baring were connected with the proposal of which lord John Russell had given notice relating to the duties on corn; and the opposition, on a division which substantially had reference to the question of protection, defeated the Melbourne ministry.

The yield in this year was 5,100,000*l*.; and in 1842, 4,900,000*l*.

In 1844, when Peel brought the question of the sugar duties before the House, the duty on foreign sugar (not the produce of slave labour) was reduced from the prohibitory rate of 3*l*. 3*s*. and Baring's 5 per cent., to 34*s*. and 5 per cent., or 35*s*. 8*d*. the cwt., as against 1*l*. 4*s*., and 5 per cent. on colonial sugar; and in 1845, these rates were reduced to 16*s*. for colonial and 23*s*. 4*d*. for other free-labour sugar, viz. the sugars of China, Manilla, Java, where, though labour was compulsory, the labourers were not slaves, and that of any other foreign country declared admissible as not being the produce of slave labour. The sugars of Cuba, Brazil and Louisiana, as slave-grown, continued subject to duties practically prohibitory until 1846, when after another long sugar debate, this curiously drawn distinction between free and slave grown sugar was abolished, and all foreign sugars were admitted at equal rates.¹

The Act by which this was effected made provision for the gradual equalisation of the duties on colonial

¹ 9 & 10 Vict. c. 63.

and foreign sugar, by a process which was to have been completed in July 1851, but subsequently was deferred until 1854.¹

The establishment of free trade in sugar, and the introduction in various places of improved machinery for making sugar, soon brought into the market a variety of sugars differing in quality and value, and it was no longer practicable to levy the duties on the old plan of one rate for unrefined and another rate for refined sugars. A varying scale was therefore introduced, framed on the principle of assessing sugars according to the stage of their refinement, and subsequently this classification of sugar for the purposes of the duties underwent alterations which, now that they are no longer of any practical importance, it may be unnecessary to give in detail.²

In 1854 the tax was used by Cornewall Lewis, with the taxes on tea and coffee, to obtain additional revenue for the purposes of the war with Russia.³ Having fulfilled this temporary object, the tax at peace rates yielded, in 1861,⁴ (net receipt) 6,133,227*l.*, an increase of 295,028*l.* on the yield for 1860; and in 1863, no less than 6,254,979*l.* Henceforth its history proceeds step by step in the path of reduction down to the repeal in 1874.

¹ 11 & 12 Vict. c. 97.

² The classification as arranged in 1864 is stated in the table at the end of this chapter, and the alteration in the duties made in 1867 was in accordance with the results of experiments in sugar refining which were made at Cologne under the direction of an international convention to which France, England, Holland and Belgium were parties.

³ 18 & 19 Vict. c. 21.

⁴ Ended December 31. See Customs Reports, Nos. 6 & 8.

The four revisions effected by Peel and Gladstone, in 1842, 1845, 1853 and 1860, had completed the reform of our tariff; our manufactures had been freed from the trammels of the excise; it remained to reduce, as far as was safe, the taxes on the general articles of consumption, tea and sugar. In that view the duty on tea had been reduced, in 1863, to 1s. the pound. A reduction of the duties on sugar formed the principal feature in Gladstone's Budget in 1864. The estimated loss to the revenue, after making allowance for increased consumption, was 1,300,000*l.*; but the nation was now in the full tide of prosperity, and the yield of the reduced duties was in 1866, 5,391,000*l.*, and in 1867, 5,585,000*l.* Such was the success of the first step in reduction; the second was taken in 1870, when a sum of 4,000,000*l.* was at the disposal of the chancellor of the exchequer, and Lowe, while taking a penny off the income tax, reduced the duties on sugar by a moiety. At half rates the tax yielded in 1872, 3,179,000*l.*

Here undoubtedly, in the opinion of many careful and provident persons who bore in mind our fiscal system in the whole, and, regarding advance in prosperity by leaps and bounds as a temporary and not the normal condition of the progress of the nation, fixed their attention on the eventualities of the future, we should have stayed the process of reduction, which, if carried further, threatened the annihilation of the tax. This tax, with those on tea and coffee, held, in their opinion, a position of peculiar importance: to be kept, in time of peace, at low rates at which, so evenly

do these taxes lie over the whole surface of the nation, the pressure was not felt by anyone, they were powerful engines available when the nation should be called upon for a general effort in time of war. To abolish these taxes would be to remove the mainstays of our system of taxation. But the government had lost much of their fiscal popularity in consequence of the unfortunate match tax; and, with a surplus of 4,750,000*l.*, could it be expected that any government would fail to attempt to produce a popular Budget? The precedent of 1870 was followed in 1873, and with another penny from the income-tax, reducing the rate to 3*d.*, the duties on sugar were again reduced by a moiety. The estimated loss on this occasion, allowing for an increase in consumption, was 1,430,000*l.* But the end of the tax was at hand. After the elections and a change of government, part of the large surplus left by his predecessor in office was devoted by sir Stafford Northcote to the repeal of the duties on sugar. The cost was about 2,000,000*l.*, for the repeal involved the abolition of the duties on the following articles in the tariff:—Cane juice, molasses, almond paste, dried cherries, dried comfits, confectionery not otherwise enumerated, preserved ginger, marmalade, succades, all fruits and vegetables preserved in sugar not otherwise enumerated, and all manufactures of sugar.

The following table shows the rates of duty for 1864, 1867, 1870, and 1873:—

	1874		1877		1879		1883	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Brown and white sugar candy and refined sugar or sugar equal to refined and manufacture of refined sugar	12	0	12	0	6	0	3	0
Sugar not equal to refined:—								
1st class	11	8	11	3	5	8	2	10
2nd class	10	6	10	6	5	3	2	8
3rd class	9	4	9	7	4	9	2	5
4th class	8	2	8	0	4	0	2	0
Molasses	3	6	3	6	1	9	0	10

In 1879, the declared value of the sugar retained for home consumption in the United Kingdom was nearly 22,000,000*l.*; in 1880, 22,700,000*l.*; and in 1881, 24,200,000*l.*

¹ 27 & 28 Vict. c. 18; 30 & 31, c. 10; 33 & 34, c. 32; 36 & 37, c. 13.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TAX ON PEPPER.

The 'pepperer' of the Middle Ages. Heavy taxation of pepper. A warehousing system established in 1709. The duties consolidated by Walpole in 1722. Excessive taxation of pepper. Adulteration of the article. The duty reduced in 1826 and in 1837. The yield in 1865. The tax repealed by Gladstone in 1866.

THE 'pepperer' formed an important member of the community in England during the Middle Ages, when a large proportion of the food consumed was salted meat, and pepper was in high request as a seasoner. The berry or fruit of a plant cultivated only within a limited area in India and the East Indian islands, it was first imported into this country, after the crusades, by means of the vessels of the great Italian cities which then almost monopolised the trade of the Western world, and is mentioned in the 'Libel of English Policy,' in 1436, as one of the most important articles brought to England in the galleys of Genoa.

Already heavily taxed under the tariff, pepper was charged in 1709, in the war of the Spanish Succession, with an additional 1s. 6d. the pound; and with a view to secure the duties and prevent the tax from weighing too heavily upon the export trade, a warehousing system was introduced for pepper. On importation, it was to be placed in a warehouse, to be provided by

the importer and approved by the customs. Only half the duty was to be paid down. Should the pepper be taken out for home consumption, the remainder of the duty was to be paid. If exported, it paid no further duty.¹

In 1722 the various duties payable on pepper were repealed by Walpole, and a new duty was imposed at the rate of 4*d.* the pound.² Subsequently to this, to such an extent was taxation carried in this country in consequence of the expenses of war, that the duty on this article of general consumption reached, at the conclusion of the great war, 2*s.* 6*d.* the pound.

Our stomachs paid for this; for no article used in the food of the people of England was more direly adulterated than pepper.

The rate was reduced, for pepper from British possessions, by Robinson, in 1825, to 1*s.*, and by Spring Rice, in 1837, to 6*d.* the pound. At this rate, the duty produced 124,000*l.* in 1865; but in the next year it was repealed by Gladstone, who gave as one of the reasons for the abolition of the tax the expected repression of the system of adulteration, which was not yet extinct.

The declared values of the pepper imported into the United Kingdom, exported, and retained for home consumption were in 1881:—464,000*l.*; 267,000*l.*; and 197,000*l.*

¹ 8 Anne, c. 7.

² 8 Geo. I. c. 15, s. 15.

CHAPTER VII.

THE TAX ON RAISINS.

Heavy taxation of this important article of food. The yield in 1815. Reduction of the duty, by Althorp, in 1834; and, by Gladstone, in 1853 and 1860. The yield in 1881.

THE dried grapes which the French term *raisins secs*, or *raisins passés*, we term simply raisins when used for eating uncooked, and plums when they form an ingredient in the famous English plum pudding. During the Middle Ages we derived a supply of this important article of food from Spain and Turkey, which still continue to send us the Valencia, Malaga, and Smyrna raisins so well known at the present day. The finest raisins are those dried on the vine by cutting the stalk of the branches half through when the grapes are nearly ripe and leaving the grapes suspended till the watery part is evaporated, when they are dried and candied by the sun, and therefore are termed raisins of the sun; and during the commonwealth, when plum puddings were regarded with aversion by the Puritans, who were also inimical to Spain, the importation of raisins of the sun from Spain was heavily taxed.

After the Restoration other principles prevailed, but raisins continued to be subjected to heavy taxation,

duty upon duty, until, at the conclusion of the great war with France, our dessert dishes and plum puddings were subject to a duty of 20s. the cwt. on the inferior sorts, and 42s. on the finest sort of raisins. The yield in 1815 was 130,000*l*.

A reduction of these excessive duties, by Althorp, in 1834, to 15s. the cwt., considerably increased the consumption; but the tax, still at the rate of 100 per cent. on the value of most sorts of raisins, precluded the article from becoming, as otherwise it would have become, of very considerable importance as an article of food.¹ In this view, Gladstone, in 1853, reduced the duty, increased by Baring's 5 per cent. in 1840, to 15s. 9*d*. the cwt., to 10s. and in 1860 further reduced it to 7s.

In 1862, 278,740 cwt. of raisins were imported; and in 1867, 392,322 cwt., of which 290,163 came from Spain, and 93,949 from Turkey.

The declared values of the raisins imported into the United Kingdom, exported, and retained for home consumption were in 1881: 1,040,000*l*.; 171,000*l*.; 869,000*l*. The yield in this year was 148,313*l*., an increase of nearly 16,000*l*. on that for 1880.

The duty continues to be 7s. the cwt.—the rate payable also for currants, figs, fig-cake, French plums, and other dried or preserved plums and prunes.

¹ McCulloch, Comm. Dict.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TAX ON CURRANTS.

'Corintha.' The impost on currants. **Bates' case.** Excessive taxation. Reduction of the duty by Althorp, Peel and Gladstone. The yield.

THE currant, the staple product of Zante, Cephalonia and Ithaca, is also cultivated in the Morea, near Patras; and the dried fruit was first termed by writers in this country 'grape of Corinth,' next corinth, then curran, and lastly currant.

Persons who have tasted an English currant dumping may be surprised at the low estimation in which the currant was held at Zante when originally a demand arose for currants: the inhabitants, unable to understand that they were required for consumption by human beings, attributed the demand to the supposed use of the currants for the manufacture of some kind of dye, or for fattening pigs. In this country the currant soon became a peculiar favourite with the poorer classes.

It formed an important article in the Turkey trade, which developed with such rapidity in the reign of Elizabeth, about 1583. And when king James endeavoured to obtain additional revenue by means of an impost on currants, which he attempted to enforce by royal commission, the resistance of one of the

Turkey merchants led, in 1608, to the Great Case of Impositions, in the Exchequer, by the attorney-general, against John Bates, who may be termed the Hampden of indirect taxation.¹

During the seven years from 1649–56 there were no currant dumplings in England, the importation of currants being under prohibition. But after the commonwealth, the currant trade soon revived, proving so advantageous to those engaged in it, that the Venetians encouraged the local fishery by reserving to the first ship that brought in their lading of fish the privilege of loading the first currants. Before 1702, ‘the Zante trade had grown to a most unaccountable importation, they raising their prices in that country, and we purchasing the currants with ready money.’²

The excessive taxation to which currants were subsequently subjected prevented the full development of the trade. In Pitt’s tariff of 1787, the duty was imposed at the rate of 1*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* the cwt.; and at 2*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* the cwt., the rate of duty at the end of the Great War, the yield was about 280,000*l.*

1815.

A reduction of the duty by a moiety by Althorp, in 1834, increased the consumption; but the duty was still excessive, considering the price of currants in bond, which varied from 20*s.* to 35*s.* per cwt. A further reduction of the duty by Peel, in 1844, from 1*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* to 15*s.*, was followed by an increase, in the import, from 183,836 cwt., the average for the three years ending 1842, to 419,846 cwt. in 1850, and in

¹ See vol. i. p. 215.

² Brewster, *Essays on Trade*, 1702, pp. 43, 61.

the yield, from 212,894*l.* to 330,241*l.* A third reduction of the duty, from 15*s.* to 7*s.*, its present rate, by Gladstone in 1860, raised the import for 1867 to 1,000,366 cwt. The declared values of the currants imported into the United Kingdom, exported, and retained for homeconsumption were in 1881: 1,631,000*l.*; 248,000*l.*, and 1,383,000*l.* The yield in this year was 327,245*l.*, an increase of 34,200*l.* on that for 1880.

CHAPTER IX.

THE TAXES ON ORANGES AND LEMONS.

The yield in 1815 and 1850 and 1851. The tax reduced by Gladstone in 1853 and repealed in 1860.

THE orange, a native of China, was transplanted into Western countries by the Portuguese, and we now get excellent oranges from Portugal, Malta and Italy, but the best from the Azores and Spain.

The lemon, a native of Assyria and Persia, appeared in Europe, first in Greece and subsequently in Italy.

The estimation in which these fruits were held in this country, in 1815, is shown by the yield of the duties, which nearly reached 45,000*l*. The lemon had long been essential for punch, and oranges were a very general fruit for dessert, and were also used for making orange wine.

On an average for the years 1850 and 1851, the import was 359,142 boxes, and the yield, 73,246*l*.

In 1853, Gladstone, on his first revision of the tariff, reduced the duty from 2*s*. 8*d*. per bushel to 8*d*., and in 1860, on his second revision, totally repealed it.

In 1867 the import of oranges and lemons was

1,453,566 bushels, valued at 744,732*l*. The declared values of the oranges and lemons imported into the United Kingdom, exported, and retained for home consumption were in 1881: 1,467,000*l*.; 162,000*l*.; and 1,305,000*l*.

CHAPTER X.

THE TAX ON OLIVE OIL

Excessive taxation of oil. The yield in 1815. The differential duties against Naples. The tax is reduced in 1842, and repealed in 1845.

ALTHOUGH this tax is placed here under the head of taxes on eatables, it should be borne in mind that a tax on oil has also an important operation as regards many of our manufactures, for the purposes of which oil is used, more particularly, the woollen manufacture and soap-making.

For a long time oil was subjected to excessive taxation in this country, and in 1815 we derived from the duty on ordinary olive oil alone nearly 28,000*l*.

In 1833 the rate of duty for olive oil, on importation, was fixed at 8*l*. 8*s*. the tun, with a higher charge of 10*l*. 10*s*. the tun for oil imported in a Neapolitan vessel; but in the next year, the duty was reduced to 4*l*. 4*s*. the tun, except for Neapolitan oil, the duty on which the king in council had power to reduce to any sum not less than the duty on oil from other parts.¹

The objections raised to a high duty on an article useful in several departments of industry led, eventually, to the reduction of the duty by Peel, on his first revi-

¹ 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 56; 4 & 5, c. 89.

sion of the tariff, in 1842, to 2*l.* the tun, with a higher charge of 4*l.* for oil imported in a Neapolitan vessel. 'The differential principle on which these duties are imposed,' wrote McCulloch in 1843, 'is most objectionable. It imitates, and, in so far as copying can do, justifies the worst part of the commercial policy of the Neapolitan government, and prompts them to keep up high discriminating duties on articles imported into Naples and Sicily in British ships. So wretched an attempt at retaliation is quite unworthy of an enlightened nation, and deserves to be universally scouted. It is, in fact, injurious only to ourselves.'

The tax was repealed on the second revision of the tariff in 1845.

The amount of olive oil imported in 1867 was close upon 20,000 tuns, of which 5,223 came from Spain, and 7,320 from Italy.¹

¹ McCulloch, Comm. Dict.

CHAPTER XI.

THE TAX ON VINEGAR.

The yield in 1793 and in 1815. Reduction of the duty in 1826. The tax condemned by the commissioners of excise inquiry in 1836. The yield in 1842. The tax is repealed in 1844. The duty on imported vinegar.

VINEGAR, properly so called—that is, sour wine, *vin aigre*—is obtained by exposing weak wines to the atmosphere or other oxidising influences and a slow fermentation, and, as may be inferred from the name, we originally derived our supply of vinegar from France. It was taxed under the head of foreign and imported goods in the commonwealth excise, while there was no corresponding head of charge under the head of native or inland goods.

After the Restoration an excise of 6*d.* was imposed upon every barrel of vinegar or vinegar beer ; but this duty, which did not interfere with the manufacture, was subsequently, in 1699, repealed, and 8*d.* the barrel was imposed upon all vinegar, vinegar beer, and liquors preparing for vinegar ;¹ stale beer, returns of beer or ale, cider and verjuice being the principal liquors ‘ proper to make into vinegar ’ in England at this date. At this time French vinegar was subjected

¹ 10 & 11 Will. III. c. 21.

to duties that amounted to a prohibition. The excise extended to Great Britain; but hardly any vinegar was made in Scotland, and after nearly a century of existence, the tax produced, in 1793, in England, 21,000*l.*, but nothing in the northern part of the kingdom. In 1815, however, when, at 5*d.* and a fraction the gallon, the yield for England was 48,649*l.*, that for Scotland was 812*l.*

In 1818 the duty was fixed at 4*d.* the gallon, and was imposed upon all liquors brewed or made into vinegar or acetous acid for sale, and included all vinegar, alegar, verjuice, radical vinegar, acetous acid, acetic acid, and pyroligneous acid.¹

In 1826 the duty was reduced to 2*d.* the gallon;² and in 1834 the yield in the United Kingdom was 23,859*l.* from 2,863,081 gallons, the number of makers being—of vinegar 48, and of pyroligneous acid 28; forming a total of 76.

At this date, the consumption of vinegar for food had decreased, in consequence of the diminished consumption of pickles and an alteration in the fashion of curing salmon; while the use of vinegar for purposes of health and cleanliness had largely increased, and also the employment of it in various manufactures, pyroligneous acid being used by calico printers for

¹ 58 Geo. III. c. 65. Acetic or pyroligneous acid is obtained by the destructive distillation of hard dry woods, such as oak and beech, at a red heat; and this acid is extensively used in fortifying malt vinegar. But the greater portion of the pyroligneous acid prepared in this country is employed in the manufacture of the acetates, and particularly acetate of lead, for the use of dyers and calico printers. Only a small portion is purified for household and other purposes.

² 6 Geo. IV. c. 3.

discharging certain descriptions of colours. In these circumstances the severe and complicated regulations to which the traders were subjected, the insignificant yield of the tax, and the comparative high cost of collection, were regarded by the commissioners of excise inquiry as reasons for repealing the tax, though this was not desired by the manufacturers, with whom an impression prevailed that 'the regulations of the excise tended to restrict the manufacture to the great capitalists.'¹ In 1842 the yield was 23,842*l.* from 2,861,000 gallons; and in 1844 the tax was repealed by Peel.

The repeal of the excise was soon followed by a considerable reduction in the duty on imported vinegar. Standing, in the tariff of 1819, at 6*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* the tun, it had been lowered, in the tariff of 1825, to 18*l.* 18*s.* Peel had not touched it in 1842, but in his tariff of 1845 it was reduced to 4*l.* 4*s.* the tun; and in 1853 was reimposed in Gladstone's tariff at 3*d.* the gallon. This was increased to 4½*d.* in 1854, but in 1856 was again reduced to 3*d.*, the duty still in force.

It is a remarkable fact in the history of the excise on vinegar that the consumption was not in any perceptible degree affected by the rise or fall in the duty.

A duty of 1*d.* the gallon is payable on the importation of pickles preserved in vinegar.

¹ Ninth Report.

BOOK II.
TAXES ON DRINKS.

INTRODUCTION.

PART I.—ALCOHOLIC DRINKS.

CHAPTER I.
THE TAXES ON BEER.

CHAPTER II.
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CHAPTER III.
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THE TAXES ON CIDER AND PERRY.

PART II.—NON-ALCOHOLIC DRINKS.

CHAPTER VI.
THE TAX ON TEA.

CHAPTER VII.
THE TAXES ON COFFEE AND CHICORY.

CHAPTER VIII.
THE TAX ON COCOA-NUTS.

INTRODUCTION.

Importance of the taxes on drinks. The principal beverages in this country.

THE most salient feature of the revenue of the United Kingdom, when compared with the revenue of France, Germany, Italy, Spain, or Holland, consists in the comparative magnitude of the portion derived from taxes on drinks, alcoholic and non-alcoholic; and if we extend the comparison to Russia, though doubtless she derives a considerable portion of her revenue from a similar source, yet the same rule will be found to hold good. What we have been used to drink forms, therefore, a subject of special importance in connection with the history of taxation in England. For which reason some preliminary observations regarding the principal beverages of our fellow-countrymen in former and in the present times may prove not wholly without interest.

The principal beverages of the inhabitants of England have been: the alcoholic drinks—Mead and metheglin, ale and beer, wine from various countries, home-made imitations of wine, cider and perry, and spirits of different sorts; and the non-alcoholic drinks—Coffee, tea, cocoa, and aerated waters.

Mead and Metheglin.

Mead a beverage of the ancient Britons and Anglo-Saxons. Mentioned in records in Madox's Exchequer, the 'Canterbury Tales' and Harrison's Description of England, and by the 'Spectator.' Metheglin, the Celtic honey-water. Is used by Queen Elizabeth. The 'wine of Wales.' The two beverages compared. They never were important contributories to the revenue.

The item which heads the list comprises two different sorts of hydromels or honey drinks. Mead is a very ancient drink, resembling the *μελίκρατον* or *ὑδρόμελι* of the Greeks, and the *mulsa* of the Romans; and before corn was cultivated in this country to any considerable extent, so as to be available for making ale, mead made from water and honey (of which the supply was abundant) formed the principal fermented beverage of the Ancient Britons and Anglo-Saxons. This beverage is mentioned subsequently in the old records of the Exchequer, and by Chaucer in the 'Canterbury Tales,' more particularly as a sweet drink for ladies: 'and as she was of town, he brought her mead.' Harrison mentions it in his Description of England in the sixteenth century. And lastly, we know that it was a usual drink, in the times of the 'Spectator,' at Fox-hall, where sir Roger de Coverley is asked to treat a lady to a bottle of mead.

Metheglin, the sister hydromel, composed of a mixture of honey and water with other ingredients, is regarded as particularly the Celtic form of honey-water. It continued to be an ordinary drink in the time of Chaucer, who more than once mentions it in the 'Canterbury Tales:': 'Her mouth was swete as

braket or the meth,'¹ &c. &c. It was stronger and more delicious than mead, and was a favourite drink with queen Elizabeth, who received an annual stock thereof for her own use. Subsequently metheglin will be found mentioned in many of the curious old ballads that describe the manners and habits of the Welsh, and sometimes it is called the wine of Wales.

When comparing metheglin and mead, Fuller, in his 'Worthies of England,' states that metheglin differs from mead 'ut vinum a lora, as wine from that weak stuff which is the last running from grapes pressed before.'² While Harrison describes the mead of the sixteenth century as the mere rinsing of honeycombs, 'a swish-swash of honeycomb and water,' and altogether a poor kind of drink.

In taxation, mead and metheglin have been treated together. They never have been of great importance as contributories to the revenue, and at the present day are not in general use as beverages.

Ale and Beer.

Ale the most ancient corn drink. Ale before the Norman conquest. The ale of the middle ages. The ale-conner and ale-taster. The 'ales' of the middle ages. Newness of the ale consumed. Riotous drunkenness consequently uncommon. The ale-knights of Tudor times. Ale made without hops. Beer. Original signification of the term. The cultivation of hops introduced into England. 'Hops and heresy.' Advance of beer in national estimation. Ale goes out of fashion. Beer for ships' stores, and for exportation. The duellum between ale and sack. The tippling Acts of James I. Drinking under the commonwealth. Introduction of the use of hot drinks, tea and coffee. Defoe's 'Journey through England.' Marshal Tallard and Nottingham ale. The mug-houses of George I. Increase of private brewing. The introduction of pale ale; half and half; and entire butt or

¹ The Miller's Tale.

² Vol. ii. p. 554.

porter. Hogarth's 'Beer Street.' The prevalence of brewing at home. 'The beer-drinking Briton,' 1759. Gillray's caricatures. 'Beer and Britannia!' The village alehouse of Goldsmith and Cowper. The Wellington Beer Bill. The new Tom and Jerry shops. The Wine and Beerhouse Act of 1869. Ingredients used for beer.

Of the two beverages comprised in the next item in the list—ale and beer—ale is the most ancient.

A beverage derived from corn is usual to the inhabitants of corn-growing countries ill suited to the cultivation of the vine. In ancient Egypt they had their corn wine, *κρίθινος οἶνος*, which the Greeks considered suited only to mortals of a duller race than themselves, wine drinkers—*οὐ πίνοντες ἐκ κρίθων μέθυ*, not given to drinking sweet wort of corn. The Romans termed it corn water, *fruge madidâ*, and, living in a vine-clad country, showed no greater inclination for this drink than did the Greeks.

A beverage of this sort was common to all the northern Teutonic nations, including the Anglo-Saxons. The name given to corn drink in England, in the laws of Ine, and in a list of beverages for a royal banquet in the reign of Edward the Confessor, is ALE. And this ale was, before the Norman Conquest, established in position as our principal national drink.

This position was not lost after the Conquest. At first, indeed, there was a considerable increase in the consumption of wine, which the dominant class continued to drink in England as they had on the continent. But by degrees, as the new comers became acclimatised, and ale began to be improved by more care in the brewing and by the admixture of sugar and spices, all classes became more or less lovers of ale.

The increase in the price of wine consequent on the severance of our connection with Aquitaine may have had some influence in increasing the consumption of ale. But the main cause of the supreme position that ale subsequently attained was the superiority in strength exhibited by Englishmen, as compared with the French, during the Hundred Years' War. On the hill-side at Crécy, between the vineyard walls at Poitiers, and in every encounter where hand-to-hand fighting occurred, the English bowmen and men-at-arms established a reputation for incontestable superiority in strength over the French soldiers. And when the survivors, after an experience of the effects of the light sour wine and fruits of France, which killed numbers of their comrades by dysentery, returned to the thick, nutritious liquor of their native country, it was with a rooted conviction that their superiority in strength to the French soldiers was due to difference of living, but more particularly to drinking the national ale, in lieu of the small sour swish-swash of the poorer vintages of France.

This ale of the middle ages was brewed for the household in the great feudal establishments of the nobles and prelates, the monastic establishments, and those of the franklins and other possessors of land. The ale brewed for sale was the subject of careful regulations. In the metropolis, ale-conners were appointed for the purpose of tasting all the ale made—*pur taster la cervoise*, in order to look to the goodness thereof.¹ In the country, at every court leet, ale-

¹ As to the making and sale of ale, see *Liber Albus*, book iii. part 3.

tasters were appointed, with the pinder or pounder, haywarden and other local officers, and were sworn to see to the assize and goodness of all ale within the lordship.

But no circumstance marks more clearly the popular estimation of ale in the middle ages than the names given to the various rural festivities:—their whitsun ales, midsummer ales, michaelmas ales, church ales, clerk ales, leet ales, lamb ales, scot ales, bride ales, &c. ; in which festivities this drink held a position similar to that allowed it, by Danish and Saxon mythologists, in their Halls of Odin, where heroes were to drink it for ever.

Originally, ale was brewed from various sorts of corn, and usually from two or more sorts mixed. Sometimes it was made from wheat, sometimes from barley, sometimes from oats, but more usually from a mixture of corn.¹ Honey was occasionally mixed with ale, as it was with wine. The sheriff of Hampshire was allowed, 31 Henry II., in account for wheat, barley, and honey, to make ale with for the duke of Saxony's use.² And after the crusades, cinnamon, spices and sugar were frequently used as additions to the beverage. Eventually experience proved barley to be the best material for brewing, and ale was thenceforth made, as a rule, from barley malt.

The ale brewed for the ordinary use of the household was consumed at once. So also was that brewed

¹ For a brewing from malt of wheat and oats, see Bishop Swinfield's *Household Roll*, March 24 and April 9, p. xlv. For one from malt of wheat, oats, and barley, see December 22.

² Madox, *Hist. Exch.* p. 252.

for sale. Every ale brewer or breweress was required to put out the ale stake, or pole, as the sign of a brewing. The ale-taster came and tasted the ale when made, and if he passed it as good, it was ready for customers for consumption on or off the premises.

To this newness of their ale may be attributed the non-existence, in historical records of these ale-drinking times, of any chronicles of drunkenness calling for the interference of the magistrate, such as, from modern experience, we might expect to find in them. The ale, little better than sweet wort, might be consumed in potations pottle deep without causing anything more serious than lethargy from repletion. Moreover, although the price of ale, as fixed under the provisions of the statute of the assize of bread and ale, *assiza panis et cerevisiae*, was extremely moderate, money was extremely scarce, and any extra groat the artisan might have to spare would be reserved for subscription to one of the favourite ale festivities in the churchyard or on the village green.

As regards the metropolis, if we search the pages of the *Liber Albus*, which contain records of the municipal regulations on almost every conceivable subject, they are blank as regards regulations against drunkenness. While Stow, from his position and habits an excellent authority on the subject, in his 'Chronicle,' only notices the statement of Fitz-Stephen that immoderate potations formed a feature of London life in former times, in order to add that it was wholly inapplicable to the London of his time. In short, the Londoners of Tudor times do not appear to have been

lovers of strong beer. The brewers, in their answer to a petition to queen Elizabeth for the appointment of a surveyor of brewers, on the ground that London beer was not strong enough, said 'it pleased London best to drink new small beer, about fourteen days old.'

In the country generally, the pictures of life in the middle ages afforded by the 'Canterbury Tales' convey, no doubt, the impression that opportunities favourable to guzzling were not willingly lost. Habitual drunkards existed then as at all times in our history, drunkards not to be reclaimed even by means of the parish stocks or the application of the more rarely used penalty of wearing the drunkard's cloak;¹ and the tradition is continued in Harrison's picture of the ale-knights of Tudor times, who 'drink till they defile themselves, and either fall under the board, or else, not daring to stir from their stools, sit still, pinking with their narrow eyes, as half sleeping, till the fume of their adversary be digested, that they may go at it afresh.'² But taking a wide view of our historical records, no picture of riotous drunkenness is presented, nor is there any reason to think that in those times any great injury to health resulted from drinking.

Cerevisia was the statutory term for ale. The two terms occur in juxtaposition in an Act of the reign of Henry VI., which mentions persons who commonly brew to sell 'cerevisiam aut aleam'—cerevisia, otherwise, ale.

¹ A barrel, with one end open and a hole in the other, put over the drunkard's shoulders.

² Description of England, p. 286.

Ale was made without hops.

BEER, though a term of ancient origin, was not applied to the ordinary malt liquor brewed in England, before the introduction of the hop plant. Where used before that, it designates a product of the Flanders brewery, or liquor brewed to resemble Flanders beer. Thus in the 'Libel of English Policy,' A.D. 1436, where, in several places, bere is mentioned, it is always Flanders bere. In the Foedera, there is a record, in 1492, of a license granted by Henry VII. to export fifty tuns *serviciae vocatae beere*—of ale called beere—to foreign parts, and of a grant of letters of safe conduct to a bere brewer of Greenwich, named Peter Vanek, proving his country of origin. The beer mentioned in the 'Antiq. Canterb.,' in 1504, in connection with London ale and Canterbury ale, was probably brewed with imported hops; as was the beer mentioned in the 'Northumberland House Book,' in 1512. But soon after this date, the hop plant was introduced into this country from Artois, in the beer-brewing Netherlands. 'Hops, reformation, carp and beer, came into England in one year,'¹ says the old saw; and for this reason political songs, such as the 'Ballads

¹ A.D. 1525. At this date hops were used for beer in Spain as well as in the Netherlands. Sir R. Wingfield, one of the four 'sad and ancient knights' who were made gentlemen of the king's bedchamber, when the household of Henry VIII. was reformed in 1520, being sick of a great flux, in Spain, went to a great feast of the bishop of Arola, 'where he did eat millons and drank wyn without water unto them, and afterwards drank bere, made there by force bytter of the hoppe, for to be preservyd the better against the intollerable hetis of this countrey.' Four days after this he 'departyd oute of this transitory lyf' at Toledo in 1525.—Letter from bishop Tunstall to Henry VIII. Ellis, Orig. Lett., series iii., vol. ii. p. 21.

of the Rump' and those of Beaumont and Brown in the seventeenth century, couple together hops and heresy, and term ale the good 'catholic' drink.

Not rapidly, and not without encountering considerable opposition, did the hop plant establish a hold on English soil during the reign of a king justly considered to be the embodiment of that English strength which was regarded as derived from nourishment by ale. To spoil good drink with this new continental bitter, and endanger the national strength and courage, was deemed a crime verging upon treason. Nevertheless, when the period of distrust with which such novelties have ever been regarded in England had passed, hops were recognised as forming a useful ingredient in brewing, far different from the unwholesome article they were originally supposed to be.

As vagrancy increased, tippling became common, and in the reign of Edward VI. licenses were for the first time required for all alehouses and tippling houses.

Ale continued to hold the supreme place as the national drink down to the times of Elizabeth, when beer advanced in position so as to equal if not surpass ale. It had three distinct advantages over ale as a beverage: it was clearer, more brisk, and kept longer. Its clearness rendered it a more suitable beverage for drinking out of the Venice glasses which now for the first time came into use, while from its superior briskness, it was more fitting for a morning meal. No description of the life of queen Elizabeth is complete that does not mention the breakfast of beef steaks and

beer by which she maintained that splendid health, *valitudo maxime prospera*, which Bacon mentions as one of her charms. The queen of Scots, equally robust in constitution with the queen of England, was also a drinker of beer, notwithstanding her French education. In short, beer was the usual drink for ladies at breakfast, and they drank it out of the glasses from Murano which came into fashion in lieu of silver goblets. Gradually, ale brewed without hops came to be regarded by many as 'fulsome and of no continuance.' It would not keep, and it was thick in comparison with beer, and 'though some time our onclie, was now taken, with many, for old sick men's, drink.' But the preservative effect of hops is the point on which Tusser more particularly insists in his 'Five Hundred Points of Husbandry,' A.D. 1562 :—

The hop for his profit I thus do exult,
It strengtheneth drink, and it flavoureth malt;
And being well brewed, long kept it will last,
And drawing abide, if you draw not too fast.

It was convenient to have at home a drink that, long kept, would last and drawing abide; but a particular demand for liquor that would keep arose for the long sea voyages undertaken by the adventurers in search of new lands and the *El Dorados* of the new world as the world began to open out under the influence of the mariner's compass. In the list of ship's stores of these adventurers, beer was perhaps as important an item as was, in the stores of the earlier explorers of the Nile, the newly invented barrel of

twice-baked bread, which enabled them to prolong their voyages of discovery.¹

The English brewery soon attained an excellence that gave rise to a demand abroad for English beer, and a considerable *export trade* commenced. 'About the year 1580 and odd, much beer was transported,' writes Harrison. An Act of Philip and Mary in prohibition of the exportation of beer still, indeed, remained on the statute book.² But special licenses for exportation could always be obtained from the lord treasurer. It was a mere question of money. The practice of granting them was recognised by the legislature, subject to a proviso that when beer was exported, the barrels, 'the empties' as they would now be termed, should be returned to England, or 'so much other good and sweet cask in quantity;' a provision necessary for the preservation of our timber, of the increasing scarcity of which complaints were frequent at the time. Occasionally the general prohibition was enforced by proclamation; but only when exportation seemed to have the effect of raising the price of corn.

Before the close of the century, a contest for superiority, a duellum between ale and sack occurred, in which ale was worsted at some points. It went out of fashion with the gallants of the day and their imitators. 'The old time,' says a character in an old play, 'was a good time. Ale was an ancient drink and

¹ See Joinville, *Hist. de St. Louis*, xl. Du Nil. par. 190, De Wailly, p. 104.

² It was not repealed till 1605.

accounted by our ancestors authentic. Gascoign wine was a liquor for a lord ; sack a medicine for the sick, and I may tell you that he that had a cup of red wine to his oysters was hoisted in the Queen's subsidy book.' A friend responds :— ' Ah, but now you see to what a looseness this age is grown. Our boys carouse sack like double beer.'¹ And again : ' Ale has become out of request. 'Tis hog's porridge, broth for beggars, a caudle for constables, watchman's mouth glue, the better it is the more like bird lime it is, and never makes one staid but in the stocks.' In short, sack now became the favourite strong drink of the upper classes and all who could afford it. The increased importation of sherries and other wines for sack, which followed after the opening of the ports on the conclusion of the peace with Spain, in 1604, settled that question ; and also provided, in the multiplication of wine drinkers of a lower class, the chief contingent of those ' loathsome sinners ' whose drunkenness led to the tippling Acts of James I. and the admonitions of the judges, in their lectures to the various benches of magistrates at assize time, as to the regulation of ale-houses and tippling-houses.

During the commonwealth, more drunkards appeared in the parish stocks than at any previous period of our history ; but this may have been due mainly to an increased activity in the administration of the law, in enforcement of the views of ' that tribe whose practicals decree small beer the deadliest heresy,' for the tax now imposed upon the national drink must, it

¹ Lyly, ' Mother Bombie,' about A.D. 1594, Act ii. scene 5.

is only reasonable to imagine, have had the effect of decreasing the consumption.

The introduction into England of the use of the hot drinks, tea and coffee, had not, for a considerable time, any appreciable effect upon the general consumption of ale and beer. Tea superseded beer as the drink for the morning meal with ladies and persons of fashion, and the little cups of porcelain and china-ware tea-pots displaced the little glasses for beer as ornaments of the ladies' chamber. But the high price of tea at this date rendered the 'new China drink'¹ a costly luxury even with the richer classes. Coffee, indeed, appears to have been adopted as a morning drink, in substitution for beer, by many apprentices and persons of that class; but the principal coffee drinkers were the loungers who frequented the coffee-houses, established in the metropolis and other large towns, as places of resort for the purposes of conversation and hearing the news, who did not form an extensive class. Moreover many of the coffee-houses were but alehouses in disguise, where beer was the liquor consumed, though they were termed coffee-houses in deference to the fashion of the day.

Beer and ale, therefore, maintained their position as the national drink. For one tea garden noted by Defoe in his 'Journey through England,' 1714, he notes a dozen places famed for beer and ale. At Dorchester, the malt liquor is incomparably good. At Shrewsbury, there are indeed 'the most coffee-houses round the Town house that ever I saw in any town; but

¹ Pepys' Diary, see post, p. 111.

when you come into them they are but alehouses, only they think that the name of coffee-houses gives a better air.' At Lichfield, the ale is 'incomparable, as it is all over this county of Stafford. Burton is the most famous town for it, and also Stafford and Newcastle in this shire.' And he adds that the best character you can give to ale in London, is calling it Burton ale, and that they brew, in London, some that goes by that denomination. He notes the strong ale of Derby, as famous since the time of king Henry III., and the Nottingham ale of the Bagworth Ballad, August 1708, which had nourished and improved our captive of Blenheim, Marshal Tallard.

If he'll take t'other bout, we'll let Tallard out,
And much he's improved let me tell ye;
With Nottingham ale at every meal
And good pudding and beef in his belly.

The fame of the Mughouses at the commencement of the reign of George I. attests the continued ascendancy of the national drink in the metropolis. At these houses no liquor other than the national drink was consumed, in mugs; and while the semi-political clubs that met at the different mughouses, prepared to join their forces for the suppression of the Tory mob, and practised the chorus of Lillibullero and got ready the warming-pan; the Jacks, on their side, organised their plans at one or another of the multitude of alehouses specified in the 'Vade Mecum of Maltworms,' the alehouse directory then recently published.

Meanwhile, the excessive additional taxes imposed, for the purposes of the war with France, upon beer brewed for sale by the public brewer, had the effect of

extensively increasing the practice of brewing at home for private use ; and, as a rule, the result of a private brewing showed a brighter and clearer beer than that produced by the common brewer. The London brewers now endeavoured to produce a clear, bright beer, with a view to obtain the custom of the nobility and gentry when in London at a distance from home supplies. Their endeavours were successful ; for, by using paler malt and increasing the proportion of hops in their beer, which they did chiefly in consequence of malt being more heavily taxed than hops, they produced the PALE ALE or bitter beer which has since become famous throughout the world, a liquor equal in colour to the wine of Spain, to which certainly no one could apply the old ‘Dunciad’ lines on Wellstead’s inspirer, beer :—

Though stale, not ripe ; though thin, yet never clear ;
So sweetly mawkish, and so smoothly dull ;
Heady, not strong ; o’erflowing, yet not full.

The brewers next began to brew beer to keep, like that brewed by private persons, and, necessarily, the beer-dealer came into existence, as an intermediary between the brewer and the retailer. Various sorts of beer were brewed, and customers who could not afford to drink all old beer now called for a mixture of liquors, using ‘*half-and-half*,’ or some other proportion of the various sorts of beer sold ; until the invention of the brewers triumphed in the production of a liquor which, at a reasonable price, gave the same body and taste as the half-and-half, while in consequence of the use of dark-coloured malt, it looked even stronger than strong

beer. This newly invented liquor obtained from a single butt, and therefore termed *entire*, sold at 3*d.* the quart, soon became the favourite drink of the lower classes, but more especially of the London porters, from whom, according to authorities which may be said to range nearly up to the day of nomination, it derived the well-known name of PORTER.¹

These three, beer, ale and porter, easily held their own, in the estimation of the people generally, against gin, parliament brandy, and the other forms of cheap spirits in use during the first half of the eighteenth century. It was urged, indeed, in the course of the debates on the Bill against Spirituous Liquors in 1739, that spirits and strong beer were, to a certain extent, rivals. But this assertion was only advanced in argument. The two classes of drinkers were distinct and different. The votaries of Madame Geneva were not perverts from the shrines of Bacchus or John Barleycorn. It is clear from the historical pictures of Hogarth, that the inhabitants of Gin Lane were not a colony from Beer Street.

When tea cheapened in price and became more abundant, that drink superseded beer at the morning meal among persons of the middle class, while the institution of 'tea' as an evening meal involved the abolition of the evening supper with its mug of beer. Meanwhile, the returns of the yield of the tax on beer, in lieu of increasing in proportion with the increase in the population of the country, remained almost at a

¹ 'Stout' was the short term for strong beer :

 ' And should his muse
 Kindly when his credit's out,
 Surprise him with a pint of stout.'—SWIFT.

standstill. In our time, influenced by a consideration of the extent to which tea-drinking prevails, we might, not unnaturally, connect these facts, and attribute this stationary state of the revenue from beer during the eighteenth century to a flagging consumption due to the advance in the consumption of tea. But, historically, it was due, in the main, to the prevalence of private brewing. The large landowners, the country squires and parsons, the Oxford colleges, the public schools, in short, all who had large establishments, or any connection with the country, as opposed to town, brewed their own beer. Hall and Court, Hoo and House, Place and Park, in short, every country house, vied with its neighbours in the production of potent ale. The beer cellar was a show place, and in many a country house barrels had been named after celebrated beauties of the day, and guests made free of a cellar 'where every noble butt doth claim, the honour of a titled name,' before Rowlandson pictured Dr. Syntax in 'his lordship's cellar,' made free thereof with a sample of their strongest beer drawn from her 'grace of Devonshire.' The country squires brewed at home that strong ale which, after dinner, stood on the table in decanters marked with the oat and was drunk in lieu of wine. College vied with college in producing their proof, audit, and other variously named strong ales. And when it is borne in mind that, in addition to the brewing of strong beer, a smaller beer was brewed for ordinary consumption by the household, and the beer that formed part of the wage or hire of the agricultural labourers at ordinary times as well as at

harvest-time, and that not a drop of all this beer paid duty, we may draw the following conclusions. 1 That brewing at home was the principal reason for the absence of the increase that might have been expected in the yield of the beer duty, and 2, that if the private be added to the public consumption, there is no reason to think that beer-drinking did not increase during the eighteenth century with the increase of the population.

It is curious to note, upon occasions when an invasion from France was expected or talked of, the revival of the old feeling of the times of the Hundred Years' War, in caricatures and those ballads of the people from which it has been said the history of a nation can be written.

The song of the beer-drinking Briton, 1759, one of the most popular ballads of that day, might have been written by an Englishman lately returned to his ale from the scenes of dysentery at Harfleur or Agincourt :—

Ye true honest Britons that love your own land,
Whose sires were so brave, so victorious and free,
Who always beat France when they took her in hand,
Come, join honest Britons in chorus with me.
Let us sing our own treasures, old England good cheer—
The profits and pleasure of stout British beer.
Your wine-tipping, dram-sipping fellows retreat,
But your beer-drinking Britons can never be beat.
The French with their vineyards are meagre and pale,
They drink of the squeezings of half-ripened fruit ;
But we, who have hop-grounds to mellow our ale,
Are rosy and plump and have freedom to boot.
Should the French dare invade us, thus armed with our poles,
We'll bang their bare ribs, make their lanthorn jaws ring.
For your beef-eating, beer-drinking Britons are souls,
Who will shed their best blood for their Country and King.

The same spirit animated the songs and guided the pencil of the caricaturist in the times of the Great War. The foaming tankard and well-nourished Briton as opposed to the frog-eating Frenchman form as marked features of the caricatures of Gillray as of those of Hogarth. The national drink is a main ingredient in our power. 'What two ideas,' wrote Sydney Smith, in 1823, 'are more inseparable than Beer and Britannia!'

A few years after this 'additional facilities were afforded,' by the legislature, 'for the sale of beer.' Hitherto the licensed victualler had had a monopoly of the sale for consumption on the premises. The village alehouse, as perhaps the only place in the parish where the rustic could find light, warmth and company, was generally well filled. The ale, as in Goldsmith's picture, might be new, and the news old, but both were welcomed as they went round; and if the tea cups were broken, and only 'wisely kept for show,' and nut-brown draughts inspired the drinkers, it does not follow that every alehouse was a scene of continual drunkenness. Some, no doubt, were so; and licenses may have, in many parts of the country, been granted too freely and sometimes with a careless hand. But on the whole, Goldsmith's may have been a more accurate description of the village alehouse than that of the valetudinarian Cowper, where in the 'Task' he enumerates the population: boor, lackey, groom, and craftsman, smith, cobbler, joiner, tailor and baker, places them all in the alehouse, and describes them as 'All loud alike, all learned, and all drunk.'

But, when the Wellington administration, in an endeavour, as it has been put, to ‘balance matters with a beer bill,’ repealed the beer duty, established free trade in beer, and in order to afford new facilities for the sale of beer, allowed beerhouses to be opened with only an excise license, the lower orders at once ‘turned into the small beer or Tom and Jerry shops’ all over the kingdom ;¹ and these houses became and continued to be the haunt of poachers and the places of meeting for every sort of village miscreant until 1869, when they were abolished by the Wine and Beerhouse Act, and the regulation of the sale of beer was again placed in the hands of the justices.

Formerly malt and hops were the only ingredients allowed in brewing beer and ale for sale. In 1688 common brewers were prohibited from using in the brewing or working of beer and ale for sale any molasses, coarse sugar, honey, or composition or extract from sugar ;² and in 1701, sugar, honey, foreign grains, guinea pepper, and a late invented liquor or syrup made from malt and water up to the consistency of, and resembling molasses, termed *essentia bine*, *coccus Indiae*, and all other unwholesome materials were prohibited.³ In 1710, when a duty was imposed upon hops, ‘in regard it had been found by experience that hops used in the making of malt drinks were more wholesome for those that drink the same and of greater advantage to the drink itself than any other bitter

¹ April 9, 1831 ; Hone, *Year Book*, p. 543.

² 1 Will. & Mar. st. 1, c. 24, s. 17.

³ 13 Will. III. c. 5, s. 34, and 12 Anne, st. 1, c. 2, s. 32.

ingredient that could be used instead thereof,' the use of broom, wormwood, or any other bitter ingredient instead of hops in brewing or making beer or ale was prohibited; though an infusion of broom or wormwood was allowed after the beer or ale was brewed, in order to make broom or wormwood ale or broom or wormwood beer.¹ And eventually, by the revenue laws, the use in brewing of any molasses, honey, liquorice, vitriol, quassia, cocculus Indiae, grains of paradise, guinea pepper, or opium, or any article or preparation whatsoever for or as a substitute for malt or hops was prohibited.² In 1847, this policy was reversed, and the use of sugar was allowed in brewing.³ In 1862, when the duty on hops was repealed, the revenue penalties for using any substitute for hops were abolished;⁴ and in 1880, on the repeal of the duty on malt, all restrictions as to the use of materials by brewers were removed.⁵

Wine.

'Wine,' a product of foreign countries. Cultivation of the vine in Britain. Vineyards in the Domesday Survey, and other historical records. Increase in the consumption of wine after the Conquest. Our connection with Gascony and Guienne. 'Claret.' Increase in the consumption in the fourteenth century. The sale of wine regulated. Tonnage on wine. Lord Mayor Picard at the Vintry. The loss of Aquitaine. The wines of Osey and Spain in 1381. The sweet wines and the malmsey of Crete. The regulation of vessels for wine, wholesale and retail sales. The class of wines termed sweet wines. Regulations for the sale and price of wines. The multiplication of taverns causes, 1553, a limitation of the sale to towns. Retail price, temp.

¹ 9 Anne, c. 12, s. 24.

² 56 Geo. III. c. 58.

³ 10 & 11 Vict. c. 5.

⁴ 25 & 26 Vict. c. 22, s. 20.

⁵ 43 & 44 Vict. c. 20. Sched. II. repealing 56 Geo. III. c. 58, ss. 2 & 3, so far as they relate to brewers.

Edward VI. Increase in the consumption, temp. queen Elizabeth. The tippling Acts of James I. Sack comes into fashion at court. The contest between sack and ale. Increase in the consumption after 1604. The Gull's Horn Book. Our 'potency in potting.' Retail price of wine, 1632. Broome's praises of canary, 1648. Increase in the consumption of Spanish wines under the commonwealth, and of French wines after the Restoration. The retail price, 1664. The protective or mercantile system. Colbert's tariff. The Portuguese red wines. Increase in the price of wine. The Methuen Treaty, 1703. Addison's 'wine brewers.' Oporto wines advertised in 1712. Increase in the consumption of port. Madeira wine in fashion. French wines the drink of the rich. Swift upon French wine. Causes of the notorious drunkenness of Englishmen in the eighteenth, and the commencement of the present, century.

The term WINE has been applied, in England, to various kinds of beverages. In former times, cider and perry were termed wine of the apple and wine of the pear, as in ancient Greece the ale of the Egyptians was termed *κρίθινος οἶνος*, corn-wine; and in modern times, beverages from a variety of fruits, resembling the *vina fictitia* or spurious wines of the Romans, have been termed 'made wines,' and sometimes 'British wines.' But in the usual and proper acceptation of the term, it designates exclusively the expressed juice of the grape. When used in England, the term implies a product of foreign countries; for the remark of Tacitus that the climate and soil of Britain were so excessively damp as to render the island ill adapted for the cultivation of the olive and the vine,¹ noted natural disadvantages that have not been removed by the improvements effected in the soil by means of drainage or by any change of the climate, but continue to exclude England from the list of wine-growing countries.

Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the cultiva-

¹ De Vit. Agricol., lib. xii.

tion of the vine was introduced by the Romans into Britain while under their sway, and with such results that, after their departure, vineyards continued in cultivation down to the time of the Domesday Survey, which contains about forty entries of existing vineyards.

Many notices of vineyards occur in our subsequent historical records, and it is remarkable in how many different counties vineyards existed. For instance: in Hampshire, 'the Vine,' writes Camden in his 'Britannia,' 'is a very faire place, so named of the vines there, which we have had in Britain since Probus the emperor's time, rather for shade than fruit: for he permitted the Britons and others to have vines.'¹ In Sussex, and in Kent, several vineyards existed. In Suffolk, the monks of the well known monastery of Bury St. Edmunds cultivated the vine there, and the terraced vineyards where the vines grew are still in existence. In Norfolk, a vineyard at Ditchingham produced on occasion wine which realised a price near to that of foreign wine.² The Isle of Ely was termed by the Normans *Isle des vignes*. The bishop of Lincoln paid, in the 15th year of king Henry III., for a license for his executors to have the produce of his vineyards and the use of the wine-presses to get in the crop in the year of his death.³ At Rockingham, the king had a vineyard and a vine-dresser; for whose livery and for the necessaries of the vineyard the sheriffs of Northampton and Leicester were allowed in their account, in the fifth year of king Stephen.⁴ In Herefordshire, from the vineyard at

¹ Old Edn., p. 269.

² Madox, Hist. Exch., p. 249.

³ Rogers, Hist. of Prices.

⁴ Madox, p. 249.

Ledbury—*de vineâ Ledbury*—seven pipes of wine were made in 1280, which were valued at half the price of foreign wine imported into Bristol and brought from Bristol up the Severn to Have.¹ While a vineyard farm and terraced estate at Hereford bear testimony that Ledbury was not the only situs of the vine in that county. The neighbouring county of Gloucester is carefully noted by the county historian, sir Robert Atkyns, to be, by tradition through Camden and William of Malmesbury, the county in Britain most favourable to the growth of vines. It would not be difficult to add numerous other instances of traces of the cultivation of the vine in various parts of England; let us, however, end with the Vineyard at Hatfield, ‘a pleasant place in which to take the air,’ Pepys terms it in his Diary; it continues to bear the name and to maintain that reputation.

The product of these vineyards may have proved potable, in peculiarly favourable seasons, if mixed with honey; but the records of wine made from home-grown grapes fit to drink are so rare, that it may safely be stated that though we had vineyards, we never had the wine-producing grape of the continent—‘*non eadem arboribus pendet vindemia nostris*,’ &c. In short, England does not lie within the wine-bearing zone, the line of demarcation being drawn somewhere at about the 45th or 46th degree of north latitude.

The commencement of the consumption of wine in any considerable quantity in England dates from the Norman Conquest, after which the followers of the

¹ Household Roll of Bishop Swinfield.

Conqueror, whom we term Normans, continued to be supplied, in England, with the wine to which they were accustomed, by means of the small coasting vessels of Normandy and Picardy. But when, by the marriage of Eleanor of Guienne with Henry Plantagenet, the duchy of Aquitaine was joined to the crown of England and the dominions of our Angevin kings extended from Normandy down to the mountains of Navarre, we derived from Gascony and Guienne directly, as well as through Normandy, an abundant supply of the wines of those countries—de graves and sauterne as white wines, but more particularly the red wine of Bordeaux, from which was made, with sugar and other ingredients, the clarified wine termed by our ancestors 'clairet' or 'CLARET,' a term which continues in use among Englishmen for wine of Bordeaux.

At this date and for a long time subsequently, wine was not, except perhaps in London, an article of ordinary consumption among the class of citizens and burghers, either at home or in taverns. The assessments of the moveables of the inhabitants of Colchester for the 7th of 1295 and the 15th of 1301, which supply an inventory of everything in their houses, afford only two cases in which wine is mentioned: John Colyn has a cask, valued at 40s.; and Henry Leycester, one pipe, value of two marks, viz., £1 6s. 8d., which he has received from Stacey of Herewyc for sale. While in taverns, where red and white Bordeaux wines were sold, though the price, as regulated under the assize, was low, drinking was effectively limited by the scarcity of money. To commence to haunt taverns, was

regarded, in the times of the Plantagenets, as *prima facie* evidence that a man had found a treasure, that is to say, had more money than he rightly should have, for which he was liable to be attached by four or six pledges, under the statute relating to the office of coroner.¹

At the commencement of the 14th century, the wine trade received an impulse from the encouragement given to the foreign merchants by an alteration in the toll taken by the king on the arrival of wine-laden ships at an English port, which enabled them, for the first time, to calculate with certainty the outgoings for custom. They now increased their ventures with results which were evident in 1330 in the multiplication of taverners; there 'were then more taverners in the kingdom than were wont to be.'

The taverners were accused of selling their wine when corrupt; and not being liable either to the pillory, for malpractices in their business, as were the bakers and brewers, or to any penalty specially imposed for the sale of corrupt wine, carried on this evil practice with impunity. Moreover, as the assize made no allowance for the expense of the carriage of the wine from the port of arrival to the place of sale, a most important item in the cost of a cask of wine in those days of imperfect highways, they simply disregarded it, and 'sold their wines, the gallon, such price as they themselves would.' It was, therefore, necessary to regulate them; the law was altered, so as to

¹ A.D. 1276, 4 Edw. I. st. 2. See also the Stat. of Frankpledge, 18 Edw. II. st. 1, c. 28, 1325.

admit of a legal charge for wine at a 'reasonable price,' having regard to the expense of carriage to the place of sale, as well as the price of the wine at the port of importation; an assay of wines was required in every town at Easter and at Michaelmas; a special power to seize corrupt wines, pour them out, and break the vessels in which they were contained, was given to the local authorities; while general powers of enquiry, regulation and punishment, were placed in the hands of the chancellor and treasurer, justices of the one bench and the other, and justices of assize.¹

The feasts of the Order of the Garter and the Round Table at Windsor, and the continuous festivity that formed such a conspicuous feature in the life of English nobles during the Hundred Years' War, caused the demand for wine to outrun the supply, until, in 1363, a general license, 'by the king's good will of his grace and sufferance,' was given to all merchant denizens, not being artificers, to pass into Gascoign to fetch wines thence, 'to the intent that by the general license greater plenty of wine might come.'² Thus encouraged, the native merchants extended their ventures, and were able, in 1371, to grant to the king a duty or tunnage on all wine imported; while that prince of viutners, lord mayor Picard, entertained, right royally, at his house in the Vintry, the four kings of England, France, Scotland, and Cyprus, and the Black Prince, 'besides others, noblemen, "keeping," after dinner, "his hall" for all comers that were willing to play at dice or hazard.'³

¹ Stat. West. 4. Edw. III. c. 12.

² Statute of 1363.

³ Stow.

But the development of the wine trade was checked by the events of 1374, when the Black Prince endeavoured to meet his expenses in the support of the cause of Don Pedro the Cruel in Spain, by the collection of a fuage, or smoke farthing tax, from the poverty-stricken inhabitants of Aquitaine, and a revolt resulted that led to the severance of our connection with that country.

This checked the importation of the wines of Gascony and Guienne, and increased their cost to such an extent that Richard II., in whose household, an army of followers, the consumption of wine was enormous, attempted, in 1383, to limit the number of consumers by a prohibition of the sale of clarets by retail; which, however, was repealed in 1385.

As the supply of Bordeaux wine fell off, that of the wines of the Peninsula became more abundant. In 1381, we find the wines of Osey and Spain specified in the regulations of the price of wines, the price being the same as for the wine of Gascony, viz. 6*d.* the gallon; while that of the best Rochel is 4*d.*, and that of Rhenish, 6*d.* Henceforth a steady, though not rapid, increase is observable in the consumption of these wines; and in 1436, the bastard wine of Spain and the wine osey of Portugal are mentioned, in the 'Libel of English Policy,' as two of the principal articles of merchandise imported into England from those countries.

Sweet wines are also mentioned in the 'Libel,' as forming part of the cargoes of the great carricks of Venice. These wines were still, as they always had

been, expensive luxuries; but about the middle of the century, the importation of malmsey from Crete considerably increased. A butt of this wine, in which, according to Holinshed's story, which has not, however, been verified, the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV., was 'privilie drowned in the Tower,' was half a tun. It is mentioned in a statute of 1483, which regulates the vessels in which wine may be sold and their contents in gallons. The wholesale vessels are—the tun, to contain 252 gallons; the butt and the pipe, to contain 126; the tertian, or puncheon, to contain 84; the hogshead, 63; the tierce, $41\frac{1}{2}$; the barrel, $31\frac{1}{2}$; and the rundlet, 18 gallons.¹ The only retail measures allowed are the gallon, pottle, quart, and pint.

Meanwhile the vine had been introduced, about 1421, from Crete, into the island of Madeira; and the Canaries had been planted with vines from the Rhine district, which, improving in the richness of their grapes, yielded the famous canary of after times.

Thus was formed a class of wines termed by the legislature SWEET WINES, including 'malmsey, romney, sack and other sweet wines,' for which the price was always higher than that of the other wines in England. In 1531 and 1536, it was 12*d.* the gallon, as against 8*d.* for Gascoign, Guyen, or French wines.²

At this date, the administration of the law relating to the sale of wine was entrusted, in towns, to the

¹ 1 Rich. III. c. 13, confirmed by 28 Hen. VIII. c. 14, s. 5.

² 23 Hen. VIII. c. 7; 28, c. 14.

mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs and other head officers; and in counties, to the justices of the peace.¹ A power to regulate the price of wines sold in gross, extended, in 1542, to wines sold by retail, was given to the lord chancellor, lord treasurer and certain other great officials; who, originally, were required to raise or lower the price as occasion required; but after 1549 were to exercise this power annually, at some time between November 20 and December 31,² that is, after the vintage of the year was completed. The price fixed regulated the sale throughout the kingdom; but subsequently, in the reign of Elizabeth, a retail price for wines was to be fixed for every particular county and town.

In consequence of the multiplication of taverners about the middle of the sixteenth century, the sale of wine by retail was restricted, in 1553, to towns; and the number of taverns to be kept in any one town was limited, as a general rule, to two, though for some of the larger towns a certain number was specified as the maximum for the particular town. A sumptuary law of the same date prohibited any person from having, in his house, any piece or vessel of Gascoign, Guienne, French or Rochel wine, containing above 10 gallons, unless he had a property qualification, in land, of 100 marks per annum, or, goods and chattels, of the value of 1,000 marks, or was the son of a duke, marquess, earl, viscount, or baron of the realm.³

The retail price of wines, *the gallon*, during the

¹ 28 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

² 37 Hen. VIII. c. 23.

³ 7 Edw. VI. c. 5.

reign of Edward VI. was—For French, except Rochel, 8*d.*; Rochel, 4*d.*; and all other wines, including sack, 12*d.*

In the reign of queen Mary the importation of sweet wines resembling malmsey considerably increased;¹ but it was in ‘the spacious times of great Elizabeth,’ when, after the destruction of the Spanish Armada, expenditure expanded in every direction, that the enormous increase in the consumption of wine in England bore testimony to the increasing riches of the country. ‘England now consumes,’ wrote Cecil, ‘four times as much wine as formerly;’ and not only were French wines ordinary drinks, but also the Italian, Grecian, Spanish, and Canarian wines—vernage, cate, pument, raspin, muscadel, romnie, bastard, tire osie, capric, clarie, and malmsey, of great strength and value, besides the time-honoured hipocras, and other manufactured drinks.² These the courtiers and the ‘gentility’ drank out of those Venice glasses from Murano they now preferred to vessels of gold and silver, which they ‘loathed on account of the abundance of those metals.’

To this increase in the consumption of wine and the habits of intemperance our soldiers acquired during the long campaigns, the ‘lingering wars,’ in the hard-drinking Netherlands, was due a tide of drunkenness which the legislature endeavoured to stop by the Tippling Acts of James I. But at this date the court, as well as the camp, and the tavern, and the alehouse,

¹ 3 Eliz. c. 11.

² Harrison, Description of England, p. 281.

was the scene of debauch hitherto unknown. The bacchanal propensities of king James are notorious in history. He as a Scotchman would naturally prefer that claret of which, in Scotland, from their intimate connection with France, they ever had the best; but SACK now became a favourite drink at court: 'Whereas in tymes past,' runs an order of the royal household in 1605, '*Spanish wines, called sacke*, were little or noe whit used in our court, and that in later years, though not of ordinary allowance, it was thought convenient that noblemen &c., might have a boule or glass &c., We, understanding that it is now used as a common drink &c., reduce the allowance to twelve gallons a day for the court &c.'

¹ The allowance might with advantage have been further reduced, if we are to believe that ladies at court not unfrequently showed unmistakable signs of the effects of the stronger wines then coming into fashion.

An interesting contest for supremacy between the new-comer sack and the old national ale is noted by Beaumont in verse, about 1610, where he gives first: An exaltation of ale; then, A praise of sack; and then, The answer of ale to the challenge of sack.² The rivalry between the two liquors continued for several years, and either side found willing supporters, advocates, and even poets—'et cantare pares et respondere parati,' in the same way that the wines of Champagne and Burgundy had, in Charles Coffin and Gréneau, their

¹ MS. Harl. 293, fo. 162.

² Beaumont (Beaumont and Fletcher) was born in 1586 and died in 1615.

poetic advocates in the famous controversy as to their respective merits, in the reign of Louis XIV.

The other white wines consumed in England at this date were Rhenish, Greek wine, white muscatel, sherry and canary ;¹ but since the opening of the ports, in August 1604, every drinker had been able to challenge the foreigner in the wine of his own country. It was a roystering time of toasts, and, as in ancient times—

Naevia, sex cyathis ; septem Justina, bibatur,
Quinque, Lycas ; Lyde, quatuor ; Ida, tribus—

so now it was the fashion for the gallant to number the letters in the name of his mistress, in cups to her health ; ‘drink every letter on’t in stum,’ as Butler writes a little later than this. But healths were drunk in a variety of ways :—‘Teach me thou noble Bacchus,’ writes Decker in the Gull’s Horn Book, ‘how to take the German upsey freeze, the Danish rowsa, the Switzer’s stoop of Rhenish, the Italian’s parmizant, the Englishman’s healths, his hoops, cans, half-cans, gloves, frolicks and flap dragons. Lay open all thy secrets and mystical hieroglyphicks of rashers of th’ coals, modicums and shoeing horns, and why they were invented and for what use.’ The summum bonum of our tradesmen, their felicity in life and their chief comfort seemed to be, ‘to make merry together in an alehouse or tavern, as your modern Muscovites do in their mede inns, and the Turkish in their coffahouses ;’² and such was our ‘potency in potting,’ that ‘your Dane, your German, and your swag-bellied

¹ Albumazar.

² Gull’s Horn Book, A.D. 1609, p. 29.

Hollander were nothing to your Englishman.' It is right, however, to add that Burton places the Dutch in the supreme position, 'offering drink to all comers with a pail and a dish,' adding an observation similar to that of Montaigne about the Germans, that they 'love a man that will be drunk and honour him for it.'¹

Meanwhile, the price of wine had steadily risen; and, in 1632, the retail price, *the quart*, was fixed: For canary, muscadels and alicant, at 12*d.*; sack, and sack and malagoes, 9*d.*; best Gascon and French, 6*d.*; and Rochelle and other small wines, 5*d.*²

Under the commonwealth, the consumption of Spanish wines continued to increase; for, though these wines were charged with a differential duty of 3*l.* the tun above other wines by the Puritan republicans, who abhorred the principles of his most Catholic majesty of Spain, and, as a rule, were more given to drinking aqua vitae than sack, the demand for them was favoured by the prohibition of French wines in force from 1648 to 1656, in retaliation for the duties to which our merchandise was liable under the French tariff.

The royalists were, as a rule, wine drinkers, and CANARY was the favourite wine of the period. Broome, a royalist poet, praises it, in 1648, above all other liquors. 'Your cider and perry, may make a man drunk but not merry.' Beer is a drowsy liquor. So

¹ Burton, *Anat. Mel.* between 1617-21, i. 107.

² Proclamation, Feb. 1., *Foedera XIX.*, p. 405; Anderson's *Commerce*, ii. 351; Rushworth, ii. 117.

also is metheglin. ‘Your claret and white (wines) have a gunpowder fury; theyre of the French spright.’ Muscadine, alicant, and tent are mere holiday wines. While the bagrag-baccarak and Rhenish, you must with ingredients replenish. ‘’Tis wine to please ladies and boys with, but not for men to rejoice with.’ Canary is your only drink.

The taste for Spanish wines was now firmly rooted, and notwithstanding their price, which was, in 1656, 1*s.* 6*d.* the quart, as against 7*d.* for Gascoigne or other French wines, those wines gradually superseded the French wines in the market, until the Restoration, when everything French came into fashion, and the wines of France rapidly resumed their former ascendancy as the drink of the upper classes, the import in 1668–9 being 5,726 tuns, as against 6,343 tuns of Spanish.

At this date the import of wine from Italy and Portugal was ‘not worthy of mention, being limited, if any existed, to presents from abroad, and therefore not entered in the customs-house books.’¹ But already an event had happened which was destined to have the effect of largely increasing the import from Portugal. In France, where the principles of the protective or mercantile system were now supreme, Colbert had been compelled, in 1667, against his better

¹ Davenant, Report. Public Accounts, Works, v. 373. The retail price for wines the quart was in 1664: For canary, muscadell, allegant, or other Spanish or sweet wines, 1*s.* 6*d.*; Gascoigne and French, 8*d.*; Rhenish, 1*s.* The lord chancellor, lord treasurer, and certain other high officials had power, as before the commonwealth, to alter the prices once a year by proclamation.

judgment, to alter his tariff of 1664, and charge with high duties many articles imported from England. We now retaliated by imposing additional duties on French wines, and in 1677 prohibited the importation of them for three years. The prohibition was soon removed, but only to be reimposed on the outbreak of war after the Revolution, and to be succeeded, on repeal of the second prohibition, by duties amounting almost to a prohibition. These proceedings diverted the course of trade, and French wines came into England, not directly, but by way of Spain and Portugal. The Portuguese, wise enough to see and take advantage of the opportunity, set to work to increase their vineyards for red wine¹ with such success that before long, considerable quantities of wine the growth of that country were imported into England. The Portuguese wines 'took well' with the people of England; while the importation of them was encouraged more to our interest, according to the theory of the balance of trade that then prevailed, than a trade in wine with France.² And, in the result, from 1699 to 1702 our average import of wine was as follows:—From Spain and the Canaries, 9,039 tuns; Portugal, 6,897; Italy, 1,508; and France, 1,245.

The total import, it will be observed, is 18,915 tuns, as against 12,069, for 1668–9;³ and indeed at this date, although complaints were heard that trade

¹ Brewster, *Essays on Trade*, p. 37.

² Cary, *Essay on Trade*, p. 118.

³ This account is exclusive of the import of Rhenish, which was from 1699–1702 only 736 tuns, having been 924 in 1662–3. Davenant, *Report, Public Accounts, 1711, Works*, v. 373, 374.

was on the verge of ruin, a rapid increase of riches in England is evidenced by the unlimited indulgence of our passion for drink, notwithstanding a considerable increase in the price of wine. 'The rates we then paid for wines and the excess in our use of wine were a reproach to our nation and the wonder of our neighbours.'¹

The war of the Spanish Succession caused a second diversion of the wine trade, for which the Portuguese were well prepared; and this war and *the Methuen Treaty*, 1703, by which we bound ourselves to admit the wines of Portugal and Spain at rates of duty less than those payable on the wines of France, in effect, secured the supremacy of the wines of those countries over the wines of France in our market, and rendered the wines of Bordeaux, Burgundy, and Champagne luxuries for the higher classes, with whom the cost of these wines, and the difficulty in getting them, caused them to be perhaps more than ever in request.

A taste for French wines continued indeed yet a while among persons of the middle class. For these persons the adulterator of wines continued his operations, mixing different sorts of wines together, or using 'cider, perry, stummed wine, vitriol, honey, sugar, syrup of sugar, isinglass, brimstone, lime, raisins, juice of raisins, water and other liquor, clary and other herbs, and flesh of various sorts;' while the wine brewers, 'subterranean philosophers employed in the

¹ Brewster, *Essays on Trade*, p. 36, who says:—'In the compass of mine own knowledge almost as great a rise has been on French wine (as that in the price of sherry and Canary). The first cargo I was concerned in from Bordeaux we had the best Graes wine for 24 crowns the tun, which I have lived to see current at 48.'

transmutation of liquors by the power of magical drugs and incantations, raised for them, under the streets of London, the choicest products of the hills and villages of France, squeezing Bordeaux out of the sloe, and drawing Champagne from the apple, and exercising an art which might have been hinted at by Virgil in that remarkable prophecy,

Incultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uva,

by which a plantation of northern hedges could be turned into a vineyard.’¹ But eventually the general taste for French wines gave way. Between 1712–14 we find in the ‘Postboy,’ the ‘Daily Courant,’ and other newspapers, puffs of the new natural OPORTO WINES, and advertisements of claret to be sold at a greatly reduced price; and henceforth, for a century and a half, port and sherry were the wines most extensively consumed in England.²

The WINE OF MADEIRA was not much in fashion in England until the Seven Years’ War. In our colonies in America and the West Indies it had long been established as a favourite;³ and from these parts our

¹ Tatler. To the free exercise of these arts the ‘Spectator’ alludes feelingly where, paying a willing tribute of praise to Messrs. Brooke and Hellier as wine merchants who might be trusted, he states ‘they have insured our safety at our meals.’ No. 362. Letter of Tom Pottle, April 25, 1712. He speaks of ‘right Herefordshire poured into Port-o-Port.’

² It was not, however, until the great war with France, when rents increased and the supply of French wine fell off, that port attained the supreme position as an after-dinner wine in English country houses, and was consumed in such remarkable quantities.

³ Not being an European commodity within the provisions of the Navigation Act, it was allowed to be imported into the colonies directly, while the European wines, which could only be imported from Great Britain, were practically excluded by their price, loaded as they were with taxes of which only a part was drawn back on exportation.

officers brought back a taste for the wine. At the conclusion of the war, the consumption was favoured by the national prejudice which would allow no sort of encouragement to the consumption of French wine; and Madeira continued to be in high favour in England, until Liston discovered that we were injured by its acidity, and the Regent introduced the use of sherry into the fashionable world.

Meanwhile, the price of French wines, and the difficulty of getting them, caused them to continue in great request among the higher classes. 'The article of French wine,' wrote Swift, 'is hardly tolerable in any quantity or degree of plenty to a middling fortune.' To keep a good cellar of French wines, of Bordeaux, Champagne and Burgundy marked the rich man, and formed an object of ambition for those who desired to appear rich. Profusion in wine gratified a love of display, and gave a character for free hospitality to those who lavished on their guests this most expensive luxury. And to this, perhaps, as much as to the moistness of our climate, which forms a natural incentive to drinking; or our habit of living much in the open air, engaged in sports and employments that require great bodily exertion; or the early hour of dinner, which gave ample time for prolonged indulgence in the drinking of healths and toasts; or the scarcity of the means of rational enjoyment during the long hours of the evening, was due the drunkenness for which Englishmen became notorious.

An Englishman of the wine-drinking classes was bred to hard drinking, as was Walpole by his father,

who filled his son's glass twice to once for his own—'for it is not right that a sober son should see his father drunk.' He was initiated in the mysteries of Bacchus, in view of the ancestral portraits of the family, of men of two-bottle or three-bottle renown, to whose powers in drinking he might hope, with experience, to attain. And he was further trained to the part, at the university—at Oxford, perhaps, whence Carteret 'brought, with a great stock of Greek and Latin, that vice of drinking by which he degraded himself and which he retained and practised ever afterwards,'¹ and where Johnson 'drank his three bottles of port without being much the worse,' or at Cambridge, the sister university, well matched in this respect with Oxford: 'Why, ma'am,' said Johnson, asked by a lady the best for her son, 'there is an equal quantity of port drunk at both.'

This education rendered him, in his future life, fit to shine in that 'elegance and delicacy of convivial intercourse' of which Chesterfield has given an amusing picture in the Club of the Soakers. It rendered him equal to the duty of keeping up the character of a gentleman at an inn, where that 'warmest welcome,' which Goldsmith mentions, was ever closely connected with the 'entertainment' of the guest by means of the consumption of liquor on the premises. There would be no necessity to 'give positive orders that as I do not drink, my servant shall make up for my deficiencies below,'² orders perhaps unnecessary, for it was gener-

¹ Chesterfield, Characters.

² She stoops to Conquer.

ally acknowledged that, as Swift's footman says, 'when your master lodgeth at inns, every dram extraordinary that you drink raiseth his character.'¹ Man as well as master was bound to drink 'for the good of the house.' Lastly, he thus acquired the most useful accomplishment of the day, and was able to take his seat with confidence at the dinner table and hold his own with those who gave us the proverb, 'drunk as a lord;' in the days of St. John and Harley, and Addison and Steele, Walpole, Pulteney, and Carteret; in 1749, when Horace Walpole writes to say, 'drinking is at its highest wine mark;' with Granby and Charles Townshend, Northington and North, with Charles Fox, Sheridan and the duke of Norfolk, or Pitt and Dundas, who in 1796 were represented in caricature as Bacchus and Silenus on the wine cask; for all these illustrious men were hard drinkers—the picture is the same—'inflatum hesterno venas, ut semper, Iaccho,'—and in their example conduced in no small degree to maintain this evil habit in fashion. It continued down to days not very remote; for Sydney Smith, speaking from personal recollection, says that after dinner, even in the best society, one third of the gentlemen at least were always drunk.

¹ Letter to Sir Horace Mann, May 3.

Spirits.

Introduction of the art of distillation into Europe. Arnould de Villeneuve. Aqua vitae. Raymond Lulli praises aqua vitae. Early use of spirits in Germany. 'The Secrets of Nature' of L. Lemnius. Aqua vitae in England. Baker on Distillation, 1575. The taste for spirits on the increase. The distillers accused of causing the plague. They are 'rectified' by Blake. The Distillers' Company, temp. Charles I. Increase of spirit drinking under the commonwealth. Brandy mentioned in the Navigation Act of Charles II. Endeavours to produce cheap spirits. Van Tromp, in 1665, at the Crown Tavern at Oxford. French brandy prohibited and a home manufacture of spirits from malted corn commenced. Free trade in spirits after the Revolution. Increasing consumption of rum. Rum punch. The Monteith punch bowls. Punch consumed in the provinces. Invention of 'gin.' Increase of drunkenness in the lower classes. The Act against Geneva, 1727. Invention of 'parliament' brandy. Repeal of the Act. The consequences. Hogarth's 'Gin Lane.' Jekyll's Act against spirituous liquors, 1736. It proves a failure, and is repealed by the Wilmington administration. Opposition of lord Hervey and Chesterfield to the repeal. The new system of high duties and magisterial regulation.

The art of distillation, introduced into Europe from the source from whence was derived also the knowledge of unguents, sirops, medicine, arithmetic and many other arts of civilisation, that is to say, from an Arabian source, was known, in Spain, to the Moors established there under the dynasty of the Ommiads which held the caliphate of Cordova. By means of distillation were produced many 'waters' used for medicinal purposes; many waters used as perfumes—'waters made for delectation of smell, to sprinkle only upon the hands and face and the hair,' as they are described by an old author—and many waters used more particularly in cookery, for flavouring meats and dishes, of which the most famous was the water of roses, a

tradition from the East, where for ages it had been distilled from the product of the rose gardens of Arabia.

In this art of distillation Arnauld de Villeneuve, of Montpellier, was a proficient early in the fourteenth century. This famous alchemist, who was born in 1238 and died in 1314, several times during his life visited Spain, and was familiar with the writings of the Arabs; and he either invented or, improving upon a process derived by him from the Moors, perfected the distillation from wine of a particular sort of water which he rendered famous by the name he gave it. From the marvellous effect or virtue of this new water, he ranked it with the elixir vitae so long the quest of alchemists, and therefore termed it *AQUA VITAE*, the water of life. It was also termed burning water, from the fact of its being capable not only of ignition but of total consumption by fire: 'If a manne sette it a fyre it wyll consume every whit wyth the flame, so that no token of moysture be lefte in the bottome of the vessell.' The various strengths of the different sorts of aqua vitae, the different virtues, and the manifold uses thereof, are all chronicled by de Villeneuve in a treatise he wrote on the subject. The basis of the manufacture was, properly, old wine, pure and red: but an aqua vitae might well be distilled from corrupt wine.

The equally famous alchemist Raymond Lulli, of Majorca, also wrote a treatise on the subject. He praises aqua vitae exceedingly: 'The taste of it exceedeth all other tastes, and the smell all other smells.' He attributes to it a great many medicinal virtues;

and adds that it changeth the afflictions of the mind, taketh away sadness and pensiveness, and maketh men merry and witty. Lastly, he states that it 'increases audacity, and in warres, burning water'—for he is careful not to term it in this context the water of life—is of 'marveyulous use and commoditie a little before the joyning of battle to styre and encourage ye soul-diours mindes.'¹

From the publication, at Augsburg, in 1483, of a treatise by Michel Schreik—'Verzeichniss der ausgebranden wasser'—and at Bamberg, in 1493, of a poem on the subject of the advantages and disadvantages of this liquor, it is evident that the use of spirits was at this date well known in Germany. Lievin Lemnius, a Hollander, born 1505 in the province of Zealand, the author of the 'Secrets of Nature,' is loud in praise of aqua vitae: 'No liquor which is ministered unto any use to man's body, is either lighter or more piercing, or more preserveth and defendeth all things from corruption;' and this writer gives an early record of excess in spirituous liquors, where he states that 'the use of aqua vitae hath grown so common with the nether Germany and Flanders, that freelier than is profitable to health, they take and drink of it.'²

In England, where a knowledge of the art of distilling aqua vitae may have been derived from Raymond Lulli during his visits to Edward III., or subsequently from other sources, the aqua vitae distilled during the middle ages was of inferior quality to that

¹ Morvyn, Treasury of Evonymous, Edn. 1559, p. 16.

² Baker on Distillation, A.D. 1576. Chapter on aqua vitae, p. 214.

distilled on the continent. Derived, not from wine, but from wine lees only, the sole material used in the manufacture by those who distilled for sale,¹ it was used almost exclusively for medicinal purposes down to the middle of the sixteenth century. Not long after this, the long list of various compounded waters, that is, waters made with aqua vitæ and redistilled with other ingredients, given in Baker's 'Treatise on Distillation,' proves that our taste for spirits was on the increase; and already, the Irishman was famous for his love of uskebeaghe, the Irish water of life; for Dericke in his 'Image of Ireland,' A.D. 1581, writes:—

Again if fortune faunth,
Or on them chance to smile,
She fills them there with uskebeaghe
And wine another while.²

At this date, although Montaigne, in his 'Essai sur les Mœurs,' published in 1588, observes that the only nation in which drinking to excess was considered laudable was that of the Almain, the Hollander was, perhaps, in drinking power, equal to the German. 'The Dutchman for a drunkard' was a proverb in the sixteenth century;³ and when our soldiers returned from the campaigns in the Netherlands in the time of Elizabeth, they brought with them a taste for spirituous drinks developed by communication with that nation of potent drinkers. Henceforth a supply of aqua vitæ was kept

¹ Morvyn, Treasury of Evonymous.

² Sign F 2.

³ Thus in the 'Malcontent,' circ. 1600:—

'The Dutchman for a drunkard,
The Dane for golden locks,
The Irishman for usquebaugh.'

up through Flushing, which we held as security for the money advanced by us to the Dutch, as well as directly from France, where the best was made.

In their endeavours to meet the increasing demand for cheaper spirits, our distillers now commenced to use, in lieu of wine and wine lees, hogs' wash and such articles for making aqua vitae, and they continued so to do until 1593, the year of the plague. In former ages it had been usual to attribute a visitation of the plague to the Jews, who were said to have poisoned the wells, or, indeed, to any source other than that filth of the people and their dwellings which fostered it. On this occasion the distillers were accused of having, in effect, poisoned the aqua vitae that was frequently used as an antidote. Accordingly, they were 'rectified,' as it was termed, under a patent, granted to Drake, for a monopoly of the sale of spirits; but this patent was subsequently abolished with the other monopolies, by the Queen, in 1601, and Cecil, on announcing the abolition to the house of commons in a humorous speech, congratulated those who had cold stomachs on the liberty they had acquired of free indulgence in aqua vitae, aqua composita, and other waters.¹

It must not, however, be supposed that any considerable home manufacture of spirits existed at this date or in the reign of James I. : the 'lewd and idle people who began to spend their time in lewd and drunken manner, in drinking and tippling in inns, alehouses and other victualling houses,' and thereby caused the passing of the Tippling Acts, were consumers of wine rather than of

¹ Parl. Hist. i. 935.

spirituous liquors. But the manufacture was improved in the reign of Charles I. under a monopoly of the distillation of spirits, extending to twenty miles round the metropolis, granted to the Distillers' Company, whose arms figure on so many of the old tokens which passed for small change in London in the reign of Charles II.; and, subsequently, during the times of the commonwealth, 'our English distillations of strong waters of all sorts did serve the national uses'—in other words, we derived from an existing home manufacture a considerable portion of the spirits consumed in England. In these times they often, says Ralph, in *Hudibras*—

Restored the fainting high and mighty
With brandywine, and aqua vitæ.¹

And one reason for the increased consumption of spirits during the civil war may have been that, as Lulli observed, aqua vitæ was 'of marvelous use a little before the joining of battle to stir and encourage the soldier's mind.' At any rate it was a stimulant easily carried in a small compass; it protected the campaigner from the raw damp atmosphere of our island, and it was not, as sack was, a royalist drink.

In the Navigation Act of Charles II., we find the first statutory mention of BRANDY or BRANDEVIN, burnt wine. The term soon came to be applied to French eau de vie as well as German spirit, and, after the Restoration, French brandy, in the manufacture of

¹ Part iii. Canto iii. 296.

which great improvements had recently been made, almost monopolised the market. We derived our supply in part from France directly, and partly through Germany, the consumption increasing steadily year by year.

In their endeavours to produce a cheap spirit to compete in the market with brandy, some of our distillers now began to use brewers' afterwort or wash, termed 'Blew John,' musty, unsavory or unwholesome tilts. or dregs of beer and ale, unwholesome or adulterated wines or lees of wine, unwholesome sugar waters, musty, unsavory or unwholesome returned beer or ale, rotten, corrupt or unsavory fruits, drugs, spices, herbs, seeds and other ill-conditioned materials;¹ but, without any visitation of the plague to necessitate intervention, these distillers of 'ill-conditioned materials' were 'rectified' by stringent regulations on the subject issued by the Distillers' Company. The consumption of brandy and strong waters continued steadily to increase. Hamilton, in his 'Memoirs of de Grammont,' mentions brandy as offered to attract mourners to a funeral. Pepys takes his morning drink of strong waters at the Old Swan or another of his morning haunts. And on January 31, 1665, Van Tromp, on a visit to the university of Oxford, was invited to the Crown tavern by Dr. Speed of St. John's, who with five or six more 'as able as the doctor in wine and brandy,' upholding the

¹ Aqua vitae was at this date made of strong proof spirits and aniseeds bruised (using 1 lb. of aniseeds to 10 gallons of proof spirit) and redistilled. In one sort a small sort of caraway seeds and coriander seeds are added to the aniseed. Art of Distillation and London Distiller, A.D. 1664, p. 6.

honour of the university, drank down the Dutch admiral in those liquors.¹

In 1677, when, in retaliation for Colbert's second tariff of 1667, we prohibited the importation of French brandy, a home manufacture was started of 'good wholesome brandies, aqua vitæ and strong waters from malted corn;' for which, as for 'a new manufacture lately discovered,' patents were granted by the king. The prohibition was soon removed, but only to be renewed on the outbreak of the war with France after the Revolution; when we first imposed heavy additional duties on French brandy, next, prohibited the importation, and lastly, having discovered the mistake, removed the prohibition, but retained a duty so high as effectually to prevent a direct trade of any importance in duty-paid brandy. French brandies reached our shores by way of Portugal and Spain, or by way of Dunkirk and through the Netherlands under the name of German brandy. The direct importation was in the hands of the smuggler, and the result was to raise the price of French brandy to a point beyond the reach of the poorer classes. This class of consumers of spirits now began to use cheaper spirits, of home manufacture, and as they became accustomed to these, the sale of French brandies decreased,² and the use of them became limited to the richer classes.

The principal ingredients in the manufacture of cheap spirits that now rose into importance were wheat

¹ The doctor stayed in town for the purpose. Dean Prideaux's Letters.

² Davenant, Report, Public Accounts, Works, v. 373-4.

and malt, and the manufacture was open to everyone : for after the Revolution, when the importation of French brandy was prohibited, the exclusive rights of the patentees of Charles II. had been abolished, and a general permission had been granted to all persons to distil, for sale or to be retailed, any spirits brewed from malted corn. It was not illegal to brew spirits from other materials ; but it was impracticable, in consequence of the high duties on spirits derived from materials other than malted corn, which were, in effect, prohibitory, and indeed had been imposed by the legislature to encourage tillage.

While the home manufacture of spirit from malt continued to increase in importance day by day, the rich colonial spirit RUM, the product of our sugar plantations in the West Indies, rose in estimation as the principal ingredient in PUNCH, a drink composed of this spirit and sugar, lemons and water in certain proportions, which came into high favour in the metropolis about the last decade of the century. The magnificent Monteith punch bowls are all hall-marked, as of the new standard of silver dating from 1697 ; and the punch bowl, sugar bowl, silver spoons and ladle which formed the necessary accessories to punch, had probably an influence in bringing punch-drinking into fashion similar to that of the silver ‘artillery’ of the first tobacco-smokers in establishing the use of tobacco, and that of the artillery of the tea and coffee table in rendering those drinks favourites with the ladies.

Punch was occasionally made with brandy in lieu of rum, and, from the price of those spirits and the

other ingredients, was by no means a cheap form of drink. It was, however, freely supplied to the electors during the stormy election of 1715. It reached remote places in Dorsetshire before the middle of the century,¹ and from that time onwards the consumption of punch in various forms by all classes of persons who could afford to drink it forms a notorious feature in our social history.

While punch was rising into fashion among the richer classes, the class of consumers who could not afford rum punch or French brandy were solaced with home-made brandies, in imitation of French, and spirits in other forms. We probably had not lost in drinking power through our connection with Holland, although Defoe may plead in the 'True-born Englishman':—

An Englishman will fairly drink as much
As will maintain two families of Dutch.

On the other hand, there is no evidence of any increase in drunkenness due to the connection. All the northern nations, about this date, abandoned themselves to increasing habits of drinking spirituous liquors, England with the rest. To take an extract from the diary of a week of Thomas Brown, an amusing satirist of the day, we find under Friday: 'This night very drunk as the two former. Saturday: Twenty butchers' wives in Leadenhall and Newgate markets overtaken with sherry and sugar by eight in the morning,' &c. &c.

But sherry and sugar were too expensive and not sufficiently stimulant for the drinkers who now demand

¹ See Roberts, *Southern Counties*, pp. 20, 446.

our attention, those who desired *drink for drunkenness*. They required spirits in some form, at a low price; and the demand, stimulating the zeal of our manufacturers, resulted in the production, in the second decade of the century, of a cheap form of spirit exactly suited to the taste of the lower orders, manufactured in imitation of a compounded spirit well known and esteemed in Holland, and previously imported in small quantities into this country, which was termed GENEVA from genevra, the juniper berry, one of the ingredients in the manufacture.

This English spirit, made from malt spirit of home manufacture, by mixing and compounding it with other spirits and materials which paid little or no duty, could be produced at a price lower than that of any potable spirit before known; while the juniper berries used in the manufacture gave it a peculiar flavour, and, as it was thought, considerable medicinal value. 'GIN' soon became a 'water more in esteem in this country, especially among the populace, than all the whole tribe of distilled waters put together;' ¹ and, 'sold under the names of double geneva, royal geneva, celestial geneva, tittery, collonia, strike fire, &c., &c., gained such universal applause, especially with the common people, that on a moderate computation, there was more of it in quantity sold daily in a great many distillers' shops than of beer and ale vended in most public houses.'

It is impossible to state precisely the year in which gin was first made in England. But an early instance of the evil effects of drinking it to excess is recorded,

¹ Smith, The Compleat Distiller.

January 4, 1718, in a whig journal, which states that :—‘ Last Thursday morning a woman, we suppose High Church, coming out of a geneva shop in Red Cross Street, fell down, and within some few minutes departed this mortal life for another ’ (*sic*).¹ In the Beggar’s Opera, in the scene at the tavern, Macheath, after the cotillon, invites any of the ladies who choose gin to ‘ be so free to call for it.’ While Defoe, who states in his earlier works that not much English-made spirit was consumed, is strong in this condemnation of excess in gin-drinking in his ‘ Augusta Triumphans.’²

In 1727, the habit of drinking spirits had increased to such a degree among the lower class of the people, that the legislature was induced to interfere and attempt to stop the increasing tide of drunkenness. They condemned the constant and excessive use of spirits evident among the lower classes, as ‘ tending to the destruction of the health of the people, enervating them, and rendering them unfit for useful labour and service.’ By intoxication the people were debauched in morals, and driven into all manner of vices and wickedness ;³ and ‘ this licentious use of these pernicious liquors ’ was due to cheap gin and the unrestricted liberty of selling it. In that view, first, a heavy tax was imposed upon gin of all sorts, i.e. ‘ gin, geneva, juniper water, and all other compositions of any other ingredients with brandy, low wines or spirits, by whatsoever name called.’ Secondly, all distillers of compounded waters were

¹ Read’s Weekly Journal.

² Published 1728. See Cap. 40, on trade in liquors.

³ 2 Geo. II. c. 17.

placed under the supervision of the Excise. Thirdly, an annual license costing 20*l.* was required for all retailers of gin or compounded waters; retailer meaning any person selling less than a gallon at a time. And lastly, the hawking of brandy, strong waters, or other spirits about the streets was totally prohibited.

These measures, with the exception of the last, were aimed solely at the cheap spirit, gin and gin-drinking. The East Indian arrack or rack, the West Indian rum, citron water, Irish usquebaugh, and the Scotch malt spirit known as aqua vitæ, were untouched by the ‘ACT AGAINST GENEVA.’ And British brandy or spirits, in which any ingredients were used for rectifying, purifying, and cleansing the same only, were exempted, unless the ingredients were such as to alter them into mixed or compound spirits, or under proof. The high price of all these spirits was considered a sufficient protection against abuse of them.

The effect of the Act against geneva was to lay one evil spirit and conjure up another. Gin it suppressed, but it soon led to the invention of another form of cheap spirit, which being a plain, as opposed to a compounded, spirit, was not within the Act, and, therefore, was termed, in derision of the legislature, ‘PARLIAMENT BRANDY.’ The new spirit was perhaps in its effects more detrimental to the health of the people than gin; while the principal ingredients in the manufacture were foreign materials. The landowners, therefore, complained that while the Act had not effected any decrease in drunkenness, it operated in discouragement of the distillation of spirits from corn; and in the result

the Act was rejected in 1733, as 'not having answered the good purposes intended.'¹

The taste for gin among the lower classes was not extinct, but only in abeyance; and the populace welcomed the return of Madame Geneva with an orgy of which Hogarth has given us a picture in his famous *Gin Lane*, where the notice over the door of the gin-cellar is an invitation to be 'drunk for a penny, and dead drunk for twopence. Clean straw for nothing,' whereon the dead drunk might repose until returning consciousness should enable him to repeat the process and get dead drunk again. 'The drunkenness of the common people,' writes lord Hervey in his *Memoirs*, 'was so universal, by the retailing of a spirit called gin, with which they could get dead drunk for a groat, that the whole town of London, and many towns in the country, swarmed with drunken people of both sexes from morning to night, and were more like a scene of a Bacchanal, than the residence of a civil, society.'²

The cause of sobriety was now taken up by sir Joseph Jekyll, master of the rolls, who introduced into the House, in 1736, a much more comprehensive measure for the repression of spirit-drinking than the Gin Act of 1727. On this occasion, the legislature condemned the excess in spirit-drinking among people of low condition, as not confined, in its evil consequences, to the present generation, but extending to future ages and thus 'tending to the destruction and ruin of the kingdom.' They refused to grant the prayer of a petition presented by the West India merchants,

¹ *Statute II. c. 17.*

² *Memo. Geo. II., ii. 130.*

who, on the ground of the benefit derived by the plantations from the consumption of rum, molasses, and sugar, desired an exemption in favour of punch houses: a single exemption, it was answered, would open the door to every species of fraud. And they included in the 'ACT AGAINST SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS' all spirits of every description, imposing upon the spirits an enormous tax, and upon retailers of spirits, an annual license duty of 50/.

Walpole who, as a practical man, foresaw the failure of an attempt to eradicate by legislation habits so deeply rooted, stood aside and took no important part in passing the Act, and in the disturbances that followed was careful to send for the protection of the house of the master of the rolls a guard sufficiently numerous to mark out the person requiring protection as the author of the measure.

Jekyll's Act against spirituous liquors proved a failure, in consequence of its comprehensiveness. The populace would not wholly be deprived of spirituous liquor. Spirits continued to be sold, in the old brandy shops, under all sorts of odd names: sangree, tow-tow, cuckolds' comfort, Bob makeshift, the last shift, ladies' delight, the balk, &c., &c. Chemists and apothecaries supplied them to their customers as cholic waters and other medicinal remedies. While a multitude of unlicensed houses of the lowest character sprang up in every town.

In the metropolis, the common informers, who had been set to work by hopes of gaining the high penalties imposed upon persons whom they discovered infringing

Tea.

First mention of a beverage from tea. Importation of tea into England. Tea sold in public-houses before 1660. Pepys and the 'new China drink.' Order for tea by the East India Company in 1667. Their monopoly of the trade. Increase in the consumption of tea by the higher classes. The tea-cup times of hoop and hood. Peter Motteux, the poet of tea. Lord Hervey a great tea-drinker. The 'sophisticating of tea.' The duty reduced in 1745. Tea becomes an ordinary drink in the middle classes. Arthur Young upon tea-drinking, in 1770. Revival of smuggling by excessive taxation. Increase in the fabrication of false tea. Stringent enactment against it in 1777. Wedgwood's teapots. Pitt reduces the duties, in 1784. Cowper's 'hissing urn.' Tea becomes an article of general consumption.

A beverage made from the leaves of the tea plant had been in use in China for ages before its introduction into Western Europe. 'The Chinese,' says Giovanni Botero, in his treatise on the causes of magnificence in cities, circa 1590, 'have an herb out of which they press a delicate juice, which serves them for drink instead of wine. It also preserves their health, and frees them from all those evils that the immoderate use of wine doth breed unto us.'¹ This is the first mention of the beverage made by any European writer; and not long after this, small quantities of the tea leaf, Tcha it was termed in one Chinese dialect, and Té in another, were imported into Holland; from which country the first tea imported into England reached our shores.

No trade of any importance in tea existed during the times of the commonwealth, as may be inferred from the absence of any specific charge on tea in the Book of Rates for the customs and the excise. But,

¹ Anderson, Commerce, ii. 178.

before 1660, tea was known in England as a drink made and sold by retail in public-houses; and as such was taxed, after the Restoration, together with coffee and chocolate, in the Acts for the hereditary and temporary excises.

The beverage was, however, still a novelty to most persons; for Pepys, whose experience of taverns and morning drinks was considerable, terms it, in his 'Diary,' in September 1661, the 'new China drink.' At this date it was used, to a certain extent, as a febrifuge, for in an entry made a few years subsequently, Pepys notes that tea had been given by the doctor to his wife when ill. Moreover, the price of tea was nearer that of a rare drug than of a material for an ordinary beverage; for in 1664, 2 lbs. 2 oz. of tea was considered a gift fit for the king's acceptance at the hands of the East India Company.

The commencement of a trade in tea to England dates from 1667, when the East India Company sent their first order to their agent at Bantam, to send 100 lbs. of the best tea he could get; and from that date down to 1834 the trade was virtually monopolised by the Company.

After 1667 the consumption of tea by the higher classes increased rapidly. The beautiful little cups and other wares of 'porcelan, commonly called China ware,' with which, and India ware, tea, silks and muslins, the famous India houses were filled, may have had much the same effect in extending the fashion of tea-drinking among the ladies, prompt to display all the artillery of the tea-table, as the silver pipe, box

and pinchers, the artillery of the 'tobacconist,' had in establishing the practice of 'drinking' tobacco with the gallants who regarded Raleigh as their glass of fashion. While tea, more fortunate than tobacco, in lieu of discouragement by royal inhibition, was favoured with royal patronage in the 'tea-cup times of hoop and hood.'

Pope's lines about Hampton Court give the original pronunciation of the word :

There, thou, great Anna, whom these realms obey,
Do'st sometimes counsel take, and sometimes, tea (tay).

And in the reign of the queen, tea came into use as an ordinary beverage among the higher classes,¹ and the tea-tables of the ladies became places for fashionable lounge. The new drink had its *vates sacer* in Peter Motteux, whose dedication of his poem to the 'Spectator' is acknowledged in one of the papers. And tea-gardens were established at many of the health and pleasure resorts of that day. At Tunbridge, 'after prayers,' writes Defoe in his 'Journey through England,' 'all the company appear on the walks in the greatest splendour, music playing all the time, and the ladies and gentlemen divert themselves with raffling, hazard, drinking of tea, and walking till two, when they go to dinner.' As yet, however, in consequence of the high price of tea, tea-drinking was only a fashion with the richer classes; as may be gathered from the frequent allusions to his tea-drinking made in his various writings by the notorious Dr. Hill, a vain man,

¹ Swift, Polite Conversation, Dial. i.

eager to advance what he considered to be a claim to fashionable distinction.

The circle of tea-drinkers continued gradually to expand during the remainder of the first half of the century, and cases of excess in tea-drinking were not unknown. While lord Hervey was noting the increase in gin-drinking, and the detrimental effects of the habit on the health of the lower classes, his own bad health was ascribed by his father, the earl of Bristol, to the use of ‘that detestable and poisonous plant tea, which had once brought him to death’s door, and if persisted in, would carry him *through* it.’¹

Nor was such a result of excess in tea-drinking improbable to those who were careless in their purchases; for much of the tea consumed in England was the result of adulteration of the foulest kind. ‘To the prejudice of his majesty’s subjects, great quantities of sloe leaves, liquorice leaves, and the leaves of tea before used, or the leaves of other trees, shrubs, or plants, were dyed and manufactured in imitation of tea, and when mixed, coloured, stained, and dyed with terra japonica, sugar, molasses, clay, logwood and other ingredients, were sold as real tea;’ and the decoction must have been as detrimental to health as any form of spirits—gin, strike-fire, or parliament brandy, which in those days evoked the anathemas of the church and the thunders of the law.

The penalties by which the legislature attempted to repress the *sophisticating of tea*, as these operations of the false tea-makers were termed, proved impotent

¹ Mem. Geo. II., ‘Biographical Notice,’ vol. i. xxviii.

to check the practice, and for a long time a considerable part of the tea consumed in England consisted of tea that is 'sophisticated.'

A judicious reduction of the duty on tea, by Pelham, in 1745, considerably increased the consumption, and by the middle of the century, tea was established in the position of an ordinary drink among the middle classes.

Henceforth the trade developed day by day, and a considerable export to America commenced, favoured by the exemption from taxation of tea exported to the colonies.

In the third quarter of the century, tea-drinking became usual among the farming class; extended to the artisan class; and even reached the agricultural labourers and servants, in substitution for the milk and gruel that for ages had formed their principal drink of a morning. In his 'Six Months' Tour in 1770,' Arthur Young observes, speaking of the farmers generally, 'when they do exceed in expense they exceed in tea and sugar.' Noting the food of the labouring class in different parts of the country, he states tea-drinking to be a general habit: 'Most of them drink tea.' 'Most drink tea,' he writes. The forty-fourth letter of his 'Farmer's Tour' is little less than a sustained complaint against the increasing use of tea and sugar among the lower classes: 'The grand source of the distresses among the poor,' he urges, 'is the application of that money to superfluities which ought to be, as it was formerly, expended in necessities.' And throughout this 'Tour' he finds the use of tea and

sugar universal. 'All united in the assertion,' he laments, 'that the practice *twice a day* was constant, and it is inconceivable how much it impoverished them.' Finally, he notes with abhorrence, 'the custom then coming in of *men* making tea an article of their food, almost as much as women; labourers losing their time to go and come to the tea-table; nay, farmers' servants demanding tea for their breakfast with the maids! which had actually been the case in East Kent.'¹

Taking the nine years, 1771-80, the annual import was estimated at about 8,000,000 lbs. This includes duty-paid tea, and the considerable quantities introduced through the agency of the smuggler, whose trade had been revived by additional duties imposed in reversal of the policy of Pelham.

Meanwhile, the sophisticators drove a roaring trade. A new class arose who, being outside the penalties for 'sophisticating tea,' which touched only dealers and sellers, carried on their operations in security, and sold the manufactured article to smugglers and others, by whom it was mixed with tea and sold as real tea. Ash and elder trees, in addition to the sloe, now formed the basis of the manufacture. Copperas was used as a new article for colouring, in addition to the terra japonica, logwood and other ingredients. And the evil practices of the sophisticators 'increased to a very great degree, to the injury and destruction of great quantities of timber, woods, and underwoods, the prejudice of the health of his Majesty's subjects, the

¹ Vol. iv. pp. 350-2.

diminution of the revenue, the ruin of the fair trader, and the encouragement of idleness.’¹

In order to check this fabrication of false tea, a stringent Act was passed in 1777. Let us hope it may have had the effect of preventing many of the tea-pots Wedgwood was making, in his new manufactory at Burslem, for a continually-increasing number of customers, from proving to be for the tea-drinkers so many cauldrons of Canidia. But a more effectual step in protection of the tea-drinkers was taken by Pitt, in 1784, when, by a considerable reduction in the duty on tea, he repressed smuggling, cheapened the price of tea, and consequently reduced the profits of the sophisticators.

At this date, the year of the publication of Cowper’s ‘Task,’ with its well-known lines about ‘the hissing urn’ and ‘the cup that cheers but not inebriates,’ tea may be considered to have become an article of general consumption in England. The consumption was then about five millions of pounds; in 1881, it was 160 millions.

¹ 17 Geo. III. c. 29.

PART I.
ALCOHOLIC DRINKS.

CHAPTER I.

THE TAXES ON BEER.

SECTION I.

THE TAXES ON BEER, MALT AND HOPS.

First proposal for a tax on beer. The commonwealth excise. The common brewer's account. Composition for home-brewed beer, subsequently abolished. The tax on hops. Beer taxed under the hereditary and the temporary excises after the Restoration. Additional taxation of beer in the war with France. Increase in private brewing. Rise in the price of beer. A tax imposed upon malt, 1697. Additional taxation of beer in the war of the Spanish Succession. An excise on hops reimposed in 1710. Rise in the price of beer. New sort of beer brewed, with more hops. Pale ale brewed. 'Two-penny.' The beer-dealer. Half-and-half. Three threads. The 'entire' butt or porter. The duty on malt raised by Legge in 1760. 3s. additional on strong beer imposed in 1761. Yield of the taxes on beer in 1774. The duty on malt raised by North in 1780 and the duty on hops. Increase in the yield of the malt duty. Distinction made in 1782 between strong beer, table beer and small beer. In 1784 Pitt imposes taxes on brewers and maltsters. The malt tax extended to Ireland in 1785. The yield of the various taxes on beer in 1793. The taxes on beer raised by Addington, in 1802, to produce an additional two millions. The malt duty raised to 4s. 5d. in 1803. Yield of this tax in 1806. The total yield of these taxes in 1815. The war duty repealed in 1816; but partially reimposed, 1819-22. 2s. 7d., the peace rate. The duties on beer settled, according to the imperial gallon, in 1825. Repeal of the tax on beer in 1830.

WHEN Michiel, the ambassador of the Venetian Republic to the court of queen Mary, reported on the

condition of England in 1557, he noticed as a singular and wonderful circumstance, the absence of all taxes on the necessities of life: 'They have no taxes on salt, wine, beer, flour, meat, cloth, and other necessities of life, as imposed in all parts of Italy especially, and in Flanders.'¹

About thirty years after this, in 1586, a suggestion for, in effect, a tax on ale and beer in the metropolis was made to queen Elizabeth, in the form of a petition praying for the appointment of a surveyor of brewers, who was to have full powers of survey and regulation; was to receive from the brewers 1*d.* per barrel on the ale and beer brewed; and was to pay to the queen 100*l.* on his appointment to the post, and subsequently a rent of 200*l.* per annum.

This proposed regulation of brewers in the metropolis the Queen was advised to refuse to sanction, for two reasons: 'It was doubtful whether she could of her prerogative command a fee per barrel to be paid on beer to the chief surveyor; while it was certain that, should she command never so little a fee, the people would say straight that their drink was "excised," as it was in Flanders, and would be more excised hereafter, and so the people and the brewers would both repine at it.'² The doubtful legality and certain unpopularity of the proposed measure induced the Queen to refuse to grant the prayer of the petition.

After the outbreak of the civil war, when taxation commenced in earnest, taxes on articles of consumption,

¹ 'Description of England.' Ellis, Original Letters, 2nd series, vol. ii.

² Stow, v. 203.

in imitation of those in force in the Dutch Republic and other continental nations, were freely introduced into our fiscal system; and among the earliest contributions to the revenue thus entered on the rolls of our exchequer were beer and ale. Henceforth, in any new 'Description of England' no observation could be made regarding the absence of a tax on our national drink. It was now 'excised,' as in Flanders, and was to be 'more excised hereafter.'

Under the commonwealth excise, beer and ale were taxed at so much the barrel, according to the price of the beer brewed—If over 6*s.* the barrel, 2*s.* 6*d.*; if 6*s.* the barrel or less, 6*d.* The tax was to be paid by the common brewer, on a monthly account of the beer and ale brewed by him. While private brewing, in other words, the consumption of beer and ale in a family where the drink was home-brewed, was taxed by means of a composition to be paid by the head of the family, the 'householder,' as he was termed, based on a calculation of the estimated consumption of the family—in the words of the Ordinance, 'the sum considered reasonable for such householder to pay, by way of a certain weekly rate, for the consumption of his whole family in beer and ale.'¹ A duty of 5*s.* the barrel on beer and ale imported, protected the brewer from competition from abroad.

In addition to this tax on beer and ale directly, the national drink was in effect further charged, by

¹ Ord. Aug. 4, 1649. Scobell, ii. 83. These provisions, contained in art. 35 of the Ord., were repealed by Ord., Mar. 28, 1650, which prescribed a new way of collecting the duty. See also Ord., Dec. 17, 1651, on the same subject.

means of a duty on hops, then in general use in brewing, at the rate of 2s. the cwt. for all home-grown hops, to be paid by the planter; the charge for imported hops being 10s. the cwt.

Subsequently, the system of composition for the consumption of beer and ale brewed at home was repealed, on the ground of expediency, and thenceforth the tax touched only liquor brewed for sale.

The commonwealth excises were not all abandoned after the Restoration. Hops, indeed, were no longer taxed; but one set of duties on beer and ale and other liquors was granted to the king as a *temporary* excise, for life only, and another, as an *hereditary* excise, to him and his successors for ever, in recompense for the profits of the court of wards and liveries, and purveyance and pre-emption, which were abolished. Each set of duties was:—1s. 3d. for STRONG BEER and 3d. for SMALL BEER; strong, being in price above 6s. the barrel; small, 6s. the barrel or less.¹

From 1674 to the Revolution the yield of the duty on beer was ‘in a steady and constant way of improving.’² After the Revolution, the temporary excise was continued to king William and queen Mary for their lives, as it had been to James II. for life; and in 1689 the gross produce of the tax, temporary and hereditary excises together, was nearly 700,000*l*.

At this date, the brewer sold his brown ale for 16s. the barrel, and small beer, which was made from the same grains, at 6s. the barrel. The victualler sold his ale at 2d. the quart.

¹ 12 Car. II. cc. 23, 24.

² Davenant.

Additional duties on the brewery imposed for the purposes of the war with France,¹ produced about 420,000*l.* a year, but had the effect of overtaxing the national beverage. The number of victuallers diminished in every county. Many private families in London were induced by the pressure of the tax to brew their own beer. And in the result, the yield of the old temporary and hereditary excises fell off at the rate of about 50,000*l.* a year, until in 1694 it was about 250,000*l.* less than it had been in 1689; so that the gain from the additional taxation was no more than 170,000*l.*

The brewer now raised the price of his brown ale from 16*s.* to 18*s.* the barrel. The victualler raised his price from 2*d.* to 2½*d.* the quart.

In addition to this heavy taxation of beer and ale directly, they were, in effect, further taxed, when, in consequence of the prolongation of the war with France, a tax was first imposed, in 1697, upon MALT, the principal ingredient in the manufacture. The rate was 6*d.* and a fraction per bushel, in respect of malt made in England and Wales.²

In the war of the Spanish Succession, additions were made to the duty on beer,³ and the excise on hops was revived in 1710, at the rate of 1*d.* per lb. for hops

¹ By 1 Will. & Mar. c. 24; 2, c. 10, s. 2; 4, c. 3; and 5 & 6, c. 7, s. 27.

² 8 & 9 Will. III. c. 22; 13, c. 5; 1 Anne, st. 1, c. 13; st. 2, c. 3. Subsequently, in 1713, the tax was extended, not without serious disturbances and riots, to Scotland, and became the 'annual malt' of after times (12 Anne, st. 1, c. 2).

³ 9*d.* & 3*d.* by 4 Anne, 1705, c. 6 s. 7, and 3*d.* & 1*d.* by 8 Anne, c. 7 s. 1.

grown in Great Britain.¹ So that at the date of the peace of Utrecht, the national beverage was taxed directly—to include the original excises, hereditary and temporary, the three additional ninepences and the 3*d.*—with 5*s.* the barrel for strong, and 1*s.* 4*d.* the barrel for small, beer, as well as by means of taxes on malt and hops, to which may be added a duty on coals, imposed in the war, which amounted, in effect, to an additional charge upon the operations of the brewer.

The brewer now raised the price of his brown ale from 18*s.* to 20*s.* the barrel.

About this date, in consequence of the duty on malt being comparatively heavier than the duty on hops in beer, the brewer began to brew a new sort of beer, using more hops. This he sold at 12*s.* the barrel. The drinking of beer was thus encouraged in preference to the drinking of ale; but the people, not easily weaned from their heavy sweet drink, drank in general ale mixed with beer, costing from the victualler, 2½*d.* to 2¾*d.* the quart.

Now also commenced the manufacture of PALE ALE, brewed with pale malt, the most expensive kind, and sold at 30*s.* the barrel. This sort of liquor was principally consumed by the gentry; the victualler sold it at 4*d.* the quart, under the name of '*two-penny.*'

This competition excited the brown ale brewers to improve their liquor, which they did by using more hops; and a new set of traders were called into existence in the BEER-DEALERS, who purchased this new kind of beer from the brewers, kept it until it

¹ 9 Anne c. 12 for four years, made perpetual by 1 Geo. I. c. 12.

was stale, and sold it in that condition, for 25s. or 26s. the barrel, to the victualler, who sold it for 4*d.* the quart. Many people, however, continued to drink ‘*half-and-half*’ of any two of the three sorts of beer—the brown or mild ale, stale or old beer, and the third or lighter beer—while others drank three thirds, that is, a mixture of the three sorts, termed ‘*three threads*,’ at 3*d.* the quart.

About 1722 the brewers invented a liquor which, while it combined the qualities of the various sorts of beer, could be sold by them at 23s. the barrel, and by the victuallers at 3*d.* the quart. This ‘*entire*’ butt gradually became a favourite beverage with labouring people, particularly the London porters, and was, therefore, termed ‘PORTER.’

Already so heavily taxed, the national beverage was not called on for any additional contribution towards the expenses of the war of the Right of Search. Nor, if we except Lyttelton’s tax on alehouse licenses, in 1755, was there any increase in the taxes relating to beer until 1760. But the Seven Years’ War strained our resources to the utmost. Most of our principal manufactures were already heavily taxed. The land tax was at the maximum rate of 4s. No new source of revenue presented itself. And again we were compelled to have recourse to the beer barrel for additional supplies. In this year Legge raised the duty on malt from 6*d.* and a fraction to 9¼*d.* the bushel for England, with an addition to the duty, in Scotland, of 1½*d.*,¹ the addition for England raising the average yield by 352,000*l.*, viz. from

¹ 33 Geo. II. c. 3.

611,000*l.* to 963,000*l.* And subsequently, in January 1761, the duty on beer was raised by 3*s.* the barrel for strong beer and ale brewed in England, with a proportionate duty for every barrel of twopenny ale¹ brewed in Scotland.²

This additional taxation did not cause any decrease in the consumption of beer brewed for sale such as had resulted from the additional ninepences imposed in the war with France, in the reign of William III. The consumption of strong beer, which had been, on an average of eight years previous to the imposition of the additional duties, about 3,900,000 barrels, was, on the average of the eight years after the duties, over 4,000,000 barrels. More precisely, there was an increase of 165,667 barrels. While the produce of the hereditary and temporary excises, on small as well as strong beer, which had been, on an average for a period of eight years ending with 1754, 525,000*l.*, was, on an average for a similar period ending with 1767, 538,000*l.*

In 1774 we derived from the taxes on beer a total revenue of nearly two millions and a half: from the duty on beer, 1,385,400*l.*; malt, 960,000*l.*; and hops, 138,800*l.*

The War of American Independence was the cause of a further increase in the duties on malt and hops. In 1780, North, a disciple of Adam Smith, who in the 'Wealth of Nations' had condemned the beer duty as touching only beer for sale, raised the duty on malt from 9*d.* and a fraction to 1*s.* 4½*d.* for England, and

¹ As to twopenny ale, see 7th Article of the Treaty of Union.

² 1 Geo. III. 1760, c. 7.

from 4*d.* and a fraction to 8½*d.* for Scotland,¹ and abolished the power of the treasury to compound with private maltsters for the duty on their malt; the effect being to increase the revenue in England by about 600,000*l.*, almost double what was expected, viz. from 1,000,000*l.* to 1,600,000*l.*

The duty on hops was raised, on three occasions in the war, by an additional 5 per cent., after an uninterrupted existence of sixty-seven years at the rate of 1*d.* per lb.

The additional 3*s.* of 1761 on strong beer, which touched all beer over 6*s.* the barrel, had the effect of discouraging the brewing of good table beer of moderate strength. For this reason, in 1782, a distinction was made between beer not above 11*s.* the barrel and beer of a higher price. Beer above 6*s.*, and up to and including 11*s.*, was termed 'TABLE BEER,' and was charged with a duty of only 3*s.* the barrel. Beer above 11*s.* remained liable to duty as strong beer.²

Thus stood the taxes affecting beer when Pitt succeeded to office; and at the commencement of his career, in 1784, he increased the group by the addition of taxes imposed upon annual licenses for brewers and maltsters, at rates calculated by reference to the extent of the operations of the year, in other words, the quantity of beer or malt produced.

Hitherto the malt tax had extended only to Great Britain; but, in 1785, a tax on malt was imposed in Ireland, which, at 7*d.* the bushel, produced on an average, for the four years 1786–89, about 110,000*l.*

¹ 20 Geo. III. c. 35.

² 22 Geo. III. c. 68.

In Pitt's Act for consolidating the excise and customs duties, passed in 1787, the duties on beer were reimposed at the existing rates, viz. : for—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Strong—above 11 <i>s.</i> the barrel	8	0
Table—above 6 <i>s.</i> to 11 <i>s.</i>	3	0
Small—6 <i>s.</i> and under	1	4 ¹

The malt duty was one of the taxes increased by Pitt, in 1791, for the expenses of the Nootka Sound armament; but the additional 3*d.* the bushel he imposed, to produce about 122,000*l.*, proved very unpopular and was repealed in 1792.

In 1793, on the eve of the Great War with France, the net yield of the duty on malt, in Great Britain, was 1,203,000*l.*, of which 48,000*l.* was for Scotland; that of the duty on beer 2,224,000*l.*—of which 55,000*l.* was for Scotland; and that of the duty on hops, 151,000*l.*; forming a total of 3,578,000*l.*

In 1802, on the repeal of the income tax after the peace of Amiens, Addington raised the duties on beer, malt and hops to produce an additional two millions of revenue. The distinction between table beer and small beer, which had proved productive of considerable fraud, in the mixing of different sorts of beer, and adulteration of a serious description, was abolished, and beer was taxed as follows :—All beer above 16*s.* the barrel was declared to be strong beer; all beer of 16*s.* the barrel or under, table beer. An additional 2*s.* the barrel on strong beer, raised the duty to 10*s.*; and the rate for table beer was fixed at 2*s.*, with other rates for Scotch

¹ 27 Geo. III. c. 13.

twopenny ale, and Irish and foreign beer on importation.¹

The addition made to the duty on malt in Great Britain was 1s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., raising it to 2s. 5d.; while 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. and $\frac{8}{28}$ th of a farthing was added to the duty on hops.

This additional taxation of beer had been planned so as to fall, as near as might be, upon private brewing and brewing for sale equally, with a view to prevent, on the one hand, any increase in the monopoly enjoyed by Whitbread and the other great brewers, and on the other, any inducement for an extension of the practice of private brewing.

When the war broke out again, after the brief interval of quiet that followed after the peace of Amiens, *the malt duty was raised to 4s. 5d. and a fraction*; at which rate it produced, in 1806, the enormous yield of over 6,000,000*l.* in Great Britain; the tax in Ireland producing, at the same date, nearly 600,000*l.*

In 1815, when taxation in this country reached the zenith, the yield of the duty on malt was, in Great Britain, 6,044,276*l.*; that of the duty on beer, 3,330,044*l.*; and that of the duty on hops, 222,026*l.* These form a total of 9,596,346*l.* To which should be added, in order to show fully the taxation to which beer was subjected, the yield of the license taxes on brewers, maltsters, and the sellers of beer.

Thus was 'the people's drink' 'excised, as in Flanders,' and 'more excised thereafter,' in the terms

¹ 42 Geo. III. c. 38.

used by the cautious adviser of queen Elizabeth against the proposed survey of brewers.¹ It yielded, in a single year, a sum greater by far than three times the total of all the subsidies and fifteenths granted by her faithful Commons to the great queen during the forty-three years of her reign.² Ten millions per annum from taxes on beer! A development of taxation, certainly as 'singular and wonderful' in England in 1815, as had been the absence of such taxes in the England described by count Michiel in 1557.

After the peace, Vansittart proposed, in 1816, to repeal the war duty on malt and half the income tax. But the income taxpayers insisted on a total repeal of the tax, which upset all the calculations of the chancellor of the exchequer. Nevertheless, in the prevailing agricultural distress, the ministry resolved not to abate their proposal to reduce the duty on malt, from 4s. 5½d. to 2s. 5d.,³ and met the deficiency caused by these wholesale remissions of taxation, by means of a loan.

This relief was only temporary, for in 1819 Vansittart was compelled again to raise the duty to 3s. 7½d.; and it was not until 1822 that the rate was lowered to 2s. 7d., which was subsequently considered the normal or peace rate. At this rate the tax

¹ Ante, p. 118.

² Viz. nineteen subsidies, and thirty-eight fifteenths from the laity, which, at 70,000*l.* and 20,000*l.* each, give a total of 2,433,000*l.* Add eighteen subsidies from the clergy at 20,000*l.* each, viz. 360,000*l.*, and the total is 2,793,000*l.*

³ Duty under 53 Geo. III. c. 81, sched. A and Acts continuing the same, allowed to expire July 5, 1816. Duty reduced in Ireland by 56 Geo. III. c. 59

produced, on an average, in the next three years 3,525,000*l.* in England, and 332,000*l.* in Scotland.

The duty on beer continued to be 10*s.* for strong beer, over 16*s.* the barrel, and 2*s.* for table beer, 16*s.* the barrel or under. But in 1823, with a view to supply the public with beer of an intermediate strength between strong beer and table beer, the brewer was allowed to brew a beer in the proportion of not less than 5 or more than 5½ barrels of 36 gallons each for every quarter of malt, under a lower charge of 5*s.* the barrel for duty, if sold in certain quantities and at a certain rate.¹ In 1825, on the *introduction of the new imperial standard gallon*, the duties were settled as follows:—
for

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Strong beer	9	10
Beer made under the provisions of the Act of 1823 .	4	11
Table beer 16 <i>s.</i> the barrel, or less	1	11½
Twopenny ale	4	1 ²

Repeal of the Tax on Beer, in 1830.

The tax on beer had long been allowed to be extremely unfair. Limited in its incidence to beer brewed for sale, it fell on the poorer classes, who necessarily derive their drink from day to day from the victualler. They paid to the last drop in the pot. While the richer classes—noblemen, country gentlemen, clergy and farmers, and all such establishments as schools, colleges, &c. ; in a word, all the well-to-do classes—evaded the tax by brewing at home. The practice was universal; and every kind of beer was

¹ 4 Geo. IV. c. 51.

² 6 Geo. IV. c. 58.

brewed at home, not only such golden ale as sparkled in lord Yarborough's round glass goblets at Appuldercombe, and the ale brewed at the birth of the heir, for his coming of age—

When the huge ox shall yield the broad sirloin,
The ale, now brewed, in floods of amber shine,

but also the ale and small beer ordinarily consumed by the household servants and the field labourers employed on the home-farm.

Moreover, in consequence of the heavy taxation of beer brewed for sale, the business of the common brewer had become almost a monopoly in the hands of a comparatively small number of brewers in large business, with the usual effects of a monopoly, which are to increase the price of the article monopolised and limit consumption.

The returns for the duty on beer showed, on an average of twelve years from 1804 to 1816, a consumption of beer brewed for sale not much in excess of the consumption for from 1708 to 1720.

The objections to the tax on the ground of its unfairness had been pressed by Adam Smith, who, in his 'Wealth of Nations,' recommended the introduction of a composition for private brewing. But the practical difficulties in any reform in this direction proved insurmountable. During his long tenure of office, Pitt had frequently turned his mind to the subject, but never was able to form a satisfactory and feasible plan. His successor in the office of chancellor of the exchequer in 1806 introduced a proposal to tax private brewing, but was unable to carry it into effect.

The people regarded the proposal as an attempt by Whitbread and his party to effect an entire monopoly of brewing in favour of the great brewers, and so strongly urged their opposition, that the proposal had to be abandoned, leaving the remembrance of this as one of the most unpopular of all that stream of new taxes which, in Gillray's page, flow in abundance from the 'Petty' fountain of the Coalition ministry. Lastly, among the memoranda prepared by Spencer Perceval for the budget it was not destined he should live to introduce, was found a proposal to the same effect as that of lord Henry Petty. But though Vansittart, with short time to make up his budget, adopted in the main the plans of his predecessor, he dropped this suggestion, as likely to prove unpopular.

The budget of the Wellington administration for 1830 was based on the principle of affording the utmost relief in the power of the ministers to the lower orders of the agricultural and manufacturing classes; and on introducing it, Goulburn announced the intention to repeal the duty on beer, and abolish the monopoly of sale enjoyed by the licensed victuallers. The tax, for reasons hereinbefore stated, was notorious for its inequality; and Goulburn noticed, as additional arguments for its repeal, the liberation of the manufacturers from the numerous restrictions to which they were subjected under the existing law, which operated to enhance the price of beer, and the beneficial effects which would result from the abolition of the existing monopoly of the trade.

This proposal, resisted by the brewers and pub-

licans, disliked by the landed interest, who would have preferred a repeal of the duty on malt, and opposed by some members as a measure likely to convert England into one huge tippling-house and spread throughout the country universal demoralisation, was, on the other hand, approved by Althorp, Hume, and Huskisson; and eventually was carried, from October 10, 1830.

The repeal of the duty was very popular. This sentiment is expressed in the words of a song which, in high favour at the time, continued to be sung when all remembrance of the beer duty had faded into the past and the singer or any of the company would have found a difficulty in explaining the meaning of the refrain—

Loudly sing, God save the King,
For bating the tax on beer.

And what, it may be asked, was the effect of the repeal, as regards the temporary and hereditary excises? The answer is that the temporary excise, which had been renewed to George IV. for life at the commencement of his reign, as it had been to his predecessors, had lapsed on the recent demise of the Crown, and was not continued. The hereditary excise could not, of course, be repealed; but a compromise was effected, by which, in lieu of the hereditary excise on beer and ale and other liquors, a sum of 348,000*l.* for England with 6,500*l.* for Scotland, was granted to king William IV. for life, and the Act for the excise was suspended in operation until the demise of the Crown, when it revived as a matter

of course.¹ This precedent was followed at the commencement of the reign of the Queen. It is improbable that the Act will ever be revived effectively ; but it remains outstanding on the statute book to the present day.

The yield of the duty at the time of the repeal was 3,110,000*l.*, but it was expected that part of the loss would be recouped to the revenue by an increase in the yield of the other taxes relating to beer, in consequence of an increased consumption from the opening of the beer trade. And such in effect was the case, for the produce of the duty on malt, which had been in 1830 4,232,000*l.*, was raised in consequence of the increased consumption to 5,592,000*l.* in 1840.²

Repeal of the Tax on Hops in 1862.

Reasons for the repeal of this tax. It fostered gambling in hops ; and was unequal in its incidence. The duty, reduced in 1860, is, in 1862, commuted for an increased duty on brewers' licenses.

At this date, there appeared no probability that the tax on hops would soon disappear from our fiscal list, for the commissioners of excise inquiry, in their sixteenth report, had classed it among the taxes on articles which in their opinion were more fitting subjects for taxation than what they termed the useful manufactures. They did not probably allow sufficient force to the grave objections to which the tax was liable. During the first sixty-eight years it was in

1840.

¹ 11 Geo. IV. & 1 Will. IV. c. 51.

² In this year the yield was somewhat over the average yield at the time.

force, 1711–1779, the duty had been 1*d.* the pound. On the average, the produce had been about 75,000*l.*, but the difference of the yield in different years was enormous. The uncertainty of the crop was proverbial, and the tax fostered gaming in hops. Moreover, in consequence of the difference between the various kinds of hops, for no produce of the earth varies more extensively than that of hop-grounds, the fixed duty fell with remarkable severity upon the poorer description of hops. In 1855 the yield, which had been in the three previous years 447,000*l.*, 277,000*l.*, and 86,000*l.*, was 728,000*l.* The years from 1855 to 1859, inclusive, were remarkable for the large produce of hops, and in consequence of the depression in the price of hops, there was a considerable agitation for the repeal of the duty.

For the reasons above given, the duty was reduced, in 1860 to 1½*d.* the pound, and in 1862 was commuted for an increase in the duties on the annual licenses taken out by brewers.

The tax yielded, in 1861, 215,000*l.*

The Tax on Malt, 1840–80.

Malt the best basis for beer. The process of malting. The statutory regulations to secure the tax. The duty raised to 4*s.* for the war with Russia, 1854. The yield in 1856. The yield, at the old rate, in 1860, 1869, 1873, 1877, and subsequently.

After centuries of preliminary trial, it was at last allowed that barley malt forms the best basis for the making of ale and beer. Barley yields a comparatively large quantity of saccharine matter, as compared with

other grain from which sugar may be derived ; and the beer made from barley malt is of a superior flavour.

The artificial process by which barley is converted into malt is an imitation of the natural process of vegetation, such as happens sometimes in a bad barley year, when the barley, after having been cut, remains on the ground, is soaked by the rain, and in that state is warmed by the rays of the sun. It consists in steeping the barley in a cistern, and drawing off the water. The barley is then thrown out of the cistern into a receptacle termed the couch frame, whence it is removed to a floor where it is worked during what is termed a 'sweating' process which produces vegetation. A plumule or stem is formed, which, commencing at one end, runs along the grain and would issue eventually at the opposite end, while rootlets issue from the other end. But before the plumule can reach the opposite end of the grain, the process of vegetation is arrested by the maltster, and the grain is dried on the floor of a heated chamber termed the kiln.

During the malting process, the starch in the grain as far as the plumule extends is converted into sugar, which, provided by nature for the sustenance of the plant, the maltster appropriates to his own purposes.

An Act of 1713, when the tax was extended to Scotland, embodied the provisions considered necessary, at that date, to secure the duty. The maltster was required to register his malthouse and utensils with the officers of excise, to whom power was given to enter the premises, gauge the utensils, take an account of the grain in operation, and raise a

charge of duty. He was to make a monthly return of all malt made by him, and pay the duty thereon within three months; and particular provisions were enacted to prevent him mixing the grain of one wetting with that of another, or ramming together the grain so as to compress it in the cistern or the couch frame.

Subsequently, it became necessary to take further steps in repression of this compression of the grain, which was usually effected by treading it. The state of the grain was rendered evidence of illegal compression; and power was given to the officer in charge of the malthouse to ascertain the fact, by throwing the grain out and returning it. An excess of five per cent., on re-gauging the grain, was proof of compression.

Provision was made to enable the officer to follow the process of each separate floor; to prevent 'malpractices whereby the revenue might be defrauded,' by sprinkling the grain on the floor, in other words, forcing the germination of a younger floor to represent that of an older one, and robbing the cistern of grain abstracted in order to mix it with a floor in operation.

Other regulations of a stringent kind were introduced, which subsequently it was found necessary in the interests of the maltster to modify, more particularly, the keeping of a barley book, in which the maltster was required to enter, within three hours of steeping, an account of the quantity of grain steeped.

The laws on the subject of the malt duty were thoroughly investigated by Parnell's commission in 1835; and the fifteenth report of the commissioners of

excise inquiry contains every sort of information regarding the details of these laws, as well as the reasons for the various alterations and modifications effected by the Act of 1837, passed in consequence of the report.¹

The yield for 1840 had been abnormally high, and although in this year the duty was increased by the 5 per cent. imposed by Baring on the excise duties, the average yield for the years 1841–3, inclusive, was no more than 4,800,000*l.* From 1850–3 inclusive the yield maintained a fair average of about 5,500,000*l.*; and in 1854 this tax was used as one of the indirect taxes from which an increased revenue was derived for the purposes of the war with Russia. The rate was raised to 4*s.* from May 8 in that year, to continue during the war and until July 5 next after the ratification of a definite treaty of peace;² and at that rate the tax yielded, in 1856, 6,697,000*l.*

In 1860, at the old rate of 2*s.* 7*d.*, with 5 per cent. additional, it yielded over 6,000,000*l.*; in 1869, 6,724,000*l.*; in 1873, 7,544,000*l.*, and in 1877 a little over 8,000,000*l.* The next two years were wet years, and the yield was about a quarter of a million less.

Substitution of a Tax on Beer for the Taxes on Malt, and Maltsters' and Brewers' Licenses, in 1880.

A large volume might, without difficulty, be formed of mere abstracts or brief notices of the various motions

¹ 8 & 9 Will. IV. c. 22; 12 Anne St. 1, c. 2; 33 Geo. II. c. 7; 42 Geo. III. c. 38; 52, c. 128; 53, c. 9; 7 & 8 Geo. IV. c. 52; 11, c. 17; 1 Vict. c. 49.

² 17 & 18 Vict. c. 27.

for the reduction or repeal of the malt tax made in the house of commons, the debates thereon, and the pamphlets published, and articles in reviews and newspapers written, on the subject. The arguments against the tax resolved themselves into a statement that the tax was unfair as pressing severely on light land suitable for barley, and impolitic as a tax on the raw material of a manufacture. While the arguments for retaining the tax were derived from the necessity for a tax on beer, to correspond with the taxes on spirits, which form the national drink of Scotland and Ireland; the impracticability of giving up a tax so productive of revenue; and the impossibility, as shown by experience, of fairly levying a duty on beer in any other manner. It was acknowledged that a commutation of the tax was most desirable; but the difficulty in relation to private brewing seemed to present an insuperable obstacle to the realisation of the plan, until 1880, when, on his return to office, Gladstone was able to repeal the taxes on malt, sugar used in brewing and maltsters' licenses, and the tax on brewers' licenses, which was, in part, an equivalent for the duty on hops, and re-impose, in lieu of these taxes, a duty on beer.

Three bad years had reduced the farmer to an impoverished condition; and on introducing the supplementary Budget, June 10, the chancellor of the exchequer acknowledged that 'the farmer had the strongest possible claim upon any government at the time, and that as we had exposed him to all the disadvantages of equal legislation, he should have all its advantages.' In that view he approached the subject

of the farmers' grievance—the malt tax—'a grievance with which our contemporaries have been familiar from childhood upwards.'

1. To abolish the tax, as had been suggested by some persons, at a loss to the revenue of about eight millions, and leave the beer-drinker untaxed, while a revenue of many millions is collected from alcoholic drinks in the form of spirits and wine—to tax the national drink of Scotland and Ireland and allow that of England to be entirely free from taxation, was entirely impracticable, and could not be proposed by any responsible government to the House. 2. To reduce the tax, as had been suggested by lord Chandos in 1833, and again in 1852 by the first Derby administration, would be a most unsatisfactory mode of proceeding, which, while deranging our finances, would give only very partial relief. It was difficult to say how much of the reduction would reach the consumer, while all the main objections to the tax would continue to exist. 3. The third method of dealing with the tax was to substitute for it a duty on beer.

A remarkable diminution in the number of persons who brew for consumption at home amounted almost to the annihilation of the difficulty in relation to private brewing. The practice, if not dying a natural death, at any rate was shrinking within limits so modest and so narrow that it could no longer be regarded as an obstacle to prevent the government from going forward to effect an important change on other grounds beneficial to the country. Private brewers would be taxed by relation to the materials used in

brewing, which would secure substantial justice as to the tax to be paid by them. While the public brewer, the brewer for sale, would now be allowed to use in brewing any materials he might think fit to choose, and would be taxed by testing the strength and saccharine qualities of the liquor at a particular stage, the most convenient for himself and the revenue officers. This method would secure the fair taxation of beer of various sorts and strengths.

As regards the amount of the duty to be imposed, a fair equivalent for the relief to be given by the repeal of the taxes on malt and sugar used in brewing and on brewers' and maltsters' licenses would be 6s. 3d. the barrel, a quarter of malt being estimated to produce four average barrels, the turn of the scale in calculating the equivalent being slightly in favour of the revenue. The new tax would eventually yield not less than 350,000*l.* additional solid permanent revenue.

The Tax on Beer, 1880.

In order to explain the details of the method of taxing beer thus introduced, it may be well first to call to mind the ordinary process of brewing.

The ordinary operations of brewing beer from malt and hops commence in the mash tun, in which the malt is mashed and from which the liquid 'worts,' as they are termed, are drained off into the underback or worts receiver. The worts are then boiled and hopped in the copper, and from thence are drained off to the cooler or refrigerator on their way to the collecting

vessels, or fermenting vessels, as they are also termed from the process of fermentation with yeast which is there completed. From these the beer brewed is removed into the fining vessels.

The produce of a brewing differs materially in strength, and the object of the charge is to adjust the tax to the kind of beer produced. The result of experiments made with malt of various qualities gave, as a mean produce of two bushels of malt, *thirty-six gallons of worts of a gravity of 1,057°*. This was adopted as the standard, and upon this a duty was charged equivalent, in yield of revenue, to the malt tax and the other taxes repealed. The amount was 6s. 3d.¹

As regards brewers for sale, the plan of the tax is to require every brewer to take out an annual license, in order to bring him under the supervision of the revenue officers, and to register with them all the premises and vessels used by him for brewing. A book is then delivered to him, in which he is required to enter, from time to time, the following particulars:— A notice of his next brewing, twenty-four hours before he commences operations; and, two hours before he commences, a notice of the quantity of materials he intends to use, and the time when the worts will be drawn off the grains in the mash tun. He is required to follow the ordinary course of brewing, and when in that course the worts have commenced to run into a collecting vessel, the whole produce of the brewing must be collected, that is, run into the collecting vessel, within twelve hours.

¹ The Inland Revenue Act, 1880.

When the worts are collected, he is required within a certain time to enter in the book a notice of the quantity and the gravity of the worts produced by the brewing, and the vessel in which they have been collected; and the worts must remain therein until the revenue officer has taken an account of them, or until twelve hours from the time of the collection.

The quantity of the worts is, of course, easily ascertained, by gauge; while the gravity is ascertained by means of an instrument termed the saccharometer, unless fermentation has commenced in the worts, so that the gravity cannot be ascertained by means of that instrument, when a more elaborate process is required.

Assume the quantity to be 1,047 gallons, and the gravity to be 60°, the number of gallons at 1,057° will be $\frac{1047 \times 60}{57} = 1,102$ gallons, or 30 barrels, 22 gallons.¹

The brewer of beer for home consumption—the private, as opposed to the common, brewer, is also required to take out a license, and he receives from the revenue officer a brewing paper, in which he is required to enter the quantity of malt, corn, or sugar he intends to use in brewing. The total of the materials thus entered is from time to time cast up by the revenue officer, and the brewer is *charged* with duty *by reference to the amount of the materials used* in brewing. He is deemed to have brewed 36 gallons of worts of the gravity of 1·057 degrees for every two bushels of malt used; and 42 pounds' weight of malt or corn of any description, and 28 pounds of sugar, are deemed the equivalent of a bushel of malt. A private brewer

¹ Instructions to officers.

may only brew for his domestic use, or for his labourers a-field. An occupier of a house not above 10*l.* annual value is not charged with duty. An occupier of a house exceeding 10*l.*, and not exceeding 15*l.*, may also brew beer without duty, but only for domestic use.

The total number of barrels of beer charged with duty in the United Kingdom in 1881-2¹ was 27,870,526 : of these only 182,964 were charged to private brewers. The amount of duty charged was 8,709,634*l.* In 1882-3, 27,140,891 barrels were charged; 139,362 to private brewers; and the duty charged was 8,570,746*l.*

The Importation of Foreign Malt, 1860-80.

The importation of malt was prohibited before 1860, when it was allowed under payment of a duty of 25*s.* per quarter.² This was imposed, not as a protective duty, but with reference to the duty on the home-manufactured article, which was 21*s.* 8½*d.*, the duty on corn then payable, interest on the duty for six months, and the charges to which it was considered the manufacture was subjected in this country by the restrictions of the revenue laws, which were estimated at 1*s.* 9½*d.* per quarter. The duty was repealed, when the tax on malt was repealed, in 1880.

The Exportation of Malt.

Before 1860, malt intended for exportation was required to be made, under special regulations, in bond.

¹ Ended March 31, 1882.

² 23 & 24 Vict. c. 110, ss. 1 & 2.

From that date, it was allowed to be exported on drawback, so as to enable a maltster manufacturing for home consumption to avail himself of an opportunity in the foreign market.

Some danger to the revenue arose from the facility of introducing into the malt, grain that had not paid duty, by which means drawback was obtained on account of duty which had not as a fact been paid. It was extremely difficult to discover the difference between the malt and the unmalted grain on mere inspection ; and, therefore, the regulations under which the export was allowed provided that the malt should be of a certain weight, and should be packed in the presence of a revenue officer. If mixed with unmalted grain, the mixture was forfeited. Samples were examined by chemical officers before the drawback was paid.¹

¹ Report. Commissioners of Inland Revenue, 1856-69, vol. i. p. 33.

SECTION II.

THE TAXES ON PERSONS SELLING BEER AND BREWERS
OF BEER.*The Origin of Licensed Victuallers or Publican.*

The inns or hostels and the alehouses and victualling houses of the middle ages. The first restrictions on the establishment of alehouses. Power given to the justices, in 1495, to suppress unnecessary alehouses. Increase in 'tippling' after the dissolution of the monasteries. All alehouses and tippling-houses required to be licensed, in 1552. The magisterial supervision of alehouses continued until 1830.

DRUNKENNESS such as to call for the interference of the magistrate was not a common feature of English life in the middle ages; and, as a fact, there is no punishment in the statute-book for the crime of drunkenness until the time of James I. The houses in which ale was purchased and consumed on the premises were of two classes: inns or hostels, and the alehouses and victualling houses; the former being places of entertainment 'for the receipt, relief, and lodging of wayfaring people travelling from place to place'—houses for travellers, like the Tabard of Chaucer; while the latter were used principally by 'such of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood as were not able by greater quantities to make provision of victuals,' that is, were local eating and drinking houses.

By the common law inns and alehouses might be

kept ad libitum ; but if any disorders were suffered in them, they were indictable as a common nuisance.¹

The first statutory restrictions on the establishment of alehouses were due to the use of such houses, in Tudor times, as places of resort for the purpose of those games which, proscribed by the martial policy of our ancestors as tending to divert the people from the practice of archery, were, therefore, termed ‘unlawful games.’ These games, ‘handball, football, quoits, dice, casting of the stone, kails, closh-kails, half-bowl, hand-in-and-hand-out, queckboard and other importune games,’ had a connection with the consumption of ale similar to that of the modern ‘small beer and skittles ;’ and when after the break up of the great military establishments in the reign of Henry VII., increasing numbers of vagrants and idlers were visitors at the alehouse and participators in unlawful games, in an Act passed in 1495 for the suppression of such games, power was given to two justices of the neighbourhood to suppress unnecessary alehouses ; or, as the Act puts it, to ‘reject the common selling of ale.’² This magisterial regulation of alehouses was continued in a similar Act in 1503, and about the middle of the century, when the idle and vagrant classes had been further increased by a second outpour from the broken-up monastic establishments, and there was a steady increase in ‘*tippling*’—a term used to include continuing to drink after a meal, as well as drinking wholly apart from meals—‘tippling houses’ were classed with alehouses and con-

¹ Fielding, Causes of Increase of Robbers, &c. ² 11 Hen. VII. c. 2.

demned as the scenes of abuses and disorders that had proved productive of 'intolerable hurts and troubles to the commonwealth of the realm, daily growing and increasing.' For mitigation of which evils, all keepers of such houses were required to be licensed—'thereunto admitted and allowed,' by the sessions, or by two justices, one to be of the quorum, and were compelled to give security by recognizance against the use of unlawful games, and for the maintenance of good order and rule in the house.¹

Such was the origin of licensed victuallers or publicans as they are termed, in England.

The importance in the eyes of the local magistrate of this function of licensing alehouses; the manner in which, in different counties and towns, it was exercised; the exhortations and advice on the subject given to the justices by the judges of assize in their rounds; the size of the inns, and the kind of business carried on therein and in the alehouses; all form subjects on which our county histories, our stage plays, and all those other sources of historical information which exist in such abundance in this country, afford a great deal of information which is interesting, but has no direct bearing on the fiscal subject under consideration. The earlier history of the magisterial dealings with alehouses in London and the neighbourhood shows that, on occasion, vigorous measures were taken to prevent their increase in numbers. In August 1575, the lord keeper Bacon, in the Star Chamber, set down certain orders for reforming of sundry matters, one of which

¹ 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 25.

was for the suppression of ‘our great number of alehouses.’ And soon afterwards the lord mayor and local authorities, sitting together, put down about two hundred alehouses in the City and Southwark and Lambeth, at a morning sitting; and, after dinner, suppressed another hundred of such houses in Westminster.¹

The magisterial supervision of alehouses and licensing system thus established, proved ineffectual to prevent the increase of tippling, as money became more abundant day by day and the temptation to drink was increased by a more plentiful supply of wine suited to the English taste; and Acts against tippling were passed in the reign of James I., which imposed penalties upon all keepers of inns, victualling-houses and alehouses permitting tippling therein, and upon the tipplers themselves, for the offence of continuing drinking or tippling.²

The magisterial supervision over all houses in which beer was sold for consumption on the premises continued in force from 1552 to 1830.

TAXES ON LICENSED VICTUALLERS OR PUBLICANS.

A small duty imposed upon the justices’ licenses in 1710; is increased by Lyttelton in 1756; and by Pitt.

To pass from regulations of police, which would suppress drinking, to the fiscal laws, which would secure a revenue from licenses to sell drink, a duty of 1s. imposed in 1710, upon the licensed victualler’s annual magisterial license, to be collected by means of a

¹ Stow, v. 435.

² 4 Jac. I., 1606, c. 5.

stamp,¹ was increased to 1*l.* 1*s.* in 1756, when Lyttelton, unable to obtain the sanction of the house of commons to a tax on bricks he proposed, adopted a suggestion made to him for an additional duty of 1*l.* on all alehouse licenses, which had the advantage of being more productive of revenue than the tax on bricks.²

An addition of 10*s.* by Pitt in 1784, and subsequent additions, raised the duty to 2*l.* 2*s.*; at which amount it was reimposed in the Stamp Act of 1804.³

Commencement of the Excise Licenses in 1808.

A new excise license required in 1808. The duty doubled by Vansittart in 1815. The yield in that year. The duties reduced for the smaller houses. The yield in 1828.

In 1808 Spencer Perceval removed the tax from the stamp, to the excise branch of the revenue, and the licensed victualler was required annually to produce his magisterial license to the revenue officer, and take out a second or revenue license costing 2*l.* 2*s.*⁴

At this date, and roughly speaking for the next twenty years, the number of licenses taken out annually in England was between 49,000 and 50,000. In 1814, 49,119 licenses in England yielded 103,317*l.*; while, in Scotland, 9,769 licenses yielded 20,514*l.*

In the last year of the Great War, 1815, the duty was doubled by Vansittart, and in the next year 48,846 licenses in England yielded 205,153*l.*; and 9,548 in Scotland, 37,978*l.*

The charge of 4*l.* 4*s.* pressed heavily on the lower class of houses; and an alteration was made in their

¹ 9 Anne, c. 23, s. 23.

² 29 Geo. II. c. 13.

³ 44 Geo. III. c. 98.

⁴ 48 Geo. III. c. 143.

favour, by imposing the duties with reference to the rating of the house to the duty on inhabited houses: if—

	£	s.	d.
Under 15l.	2	2	0
15l. and under 20l.	3	3	0
20l. and upwards	4	4	0 ¹

In 1824 the duties were reduced by Robinson, and imposed as follows, still by relation to the rating of the house to the duty on inhabited houses: if—

	£	s.	d.
Under 20l.	1	1	0
20l. or upwards	3	3	0 ²

The initiative or really effective licensing power continued in the justices, and the regulations on the subject were consolidated and re-enacted in the Licensing Act of 1828.³

The number of the licensed houses steadily, but slowly, increased, and was, in 1828, about 50,000 for England; 17,000 for Scotland; and 22,000 for Ireland. The total produce of the licenses for that year being 133,400l.

TAXES ON KEEPERS OF BEERHOUSES.

The new excise licenses for beer established in 1830. Number of licenses in 1831, 1832 and 1833. The second Beerhouse Act, 1834. Distinction between 'on' and 'off' houses. The third Beerhouse Act, in 1840. 'Swankey shops.' Licenses required for them, in 1861. The additional Beer Dealers' license, in 1863. Number of licenses for beer in 1868 and the yield. The Wine and Beerhouse Act, 1869.

In 1830, when the duty on beer was repealed, for the better supply of the public with beer, the trade was

¹ 56 Geo. III. c. 113.

² 5 Geo. IV. c. 54.

³ 9 Geo. IV. c. 61.

thrown open and the sale of beer was permitted in a new class of houses, under licenses to be obtained from the Excise. The license cost 2*l.* 2*s.*, and included the sale of beer, ale, porter, cider and perry by retail. It was unnecessary for the licensee to have a magisterial license, but he was required to enter into a bond with sureties for the payment of any penalty incurred by him for any infraction of the provisions of the Act—regulations of police which had for object the closing of the house in case of riot; the use of standard measures in retailing liquor; the prevention of drunkenness in the house, and the prevention of the adulteration of beer.¹

This Act did not affect the licenses to be taken out by brewers of beer, dealers in beer, or licensed victuallers.²

Under this, the first of the Beerhouse Acts, nearly 31,000 Tom and Jerry shops, as these houses were at once termed, were licensed in 1831, 33,000 in 1832, and 35,000 in 1833.

Much evil arose from the manner in which the beerhouses were conducted. An experience of three years proved the necessity of more precaution in the regulation of them, and in 1834 an Act was passed to amend the provisions of the Act of 1830, in which a distinction was made between houses ‘on’ and houses ‘off,’ as they are termed. Where beer was sold to be consumed on the premises, 3*l.* 3*s.* was charged for the license, and a certificate of good character was required,

¹ 11 Geo. IV. & 1 Will. IV. c. 64. The bonds required for beer retailers were abolished in 1867 (30 & 31 Vict. c. 80, s. 13).

² See 11 Geo. IV. & 1 Will. IV. c. 51, s. 22.

signed by six rated inhabitants of the parish and certified by the overseers; except in the metropolis, any city or town corporate, or any place within a mile from the polling-place of a town returning a member to Parliament with a population over 5,000, where, in lieu of a certificate of character, a rating qualification for the house, of 10*l.* per annum, was required. Where beer was sold only to be consumed off the premises, the duty for a license was reduced to 1*l.* 1*s.*¹

The number of licensed beerhouses 'on' and 'off' was, in 1836, 44,000, and from 1836–9, on an average, 45,000.

In 1840 the duties were increased by Baring's 5 per cent. on the excise duties, and a third Beerhouse Act prohibited the grant of any license 'on' or 'off,' except to a person being 'the real resident holder and occupier of the dwelling-house in which he applied to be licensed.' And it required for all beerhouses a rating qualification for the house and the premises occupied therewith, as follows:—In the metropolis—and any city, cinque port, town corporate, parish or place, with a population exceeding 10,000 or within a mile of any polling-place used at the last election for any town having the like population, a rating of 15*l.* In any similar situation where the population exceeded 2,500 and was under 10,000, a rating of 11*l.* In other places a rating of 8*l.* A certificate from an overseer as regards residence and rating was required.

The Act recognised the existence of a class of houses in which the sale of table beer only, at 1½*d.* the

¹ 4 & 5 Will. IV. c. 85.

quart, had been allowed without a license, under an order of the Treasury dated November 9, 1830. The order was not limited, in terms, to sales 'off,' and in practice no objection was made to sales for consumption on the premises in these houses, which were usually known as 'Swankey shops.'

The number of houses licensed in 1846 was:— Houses 'on' 34,067. Houses 'off,' 3,625. The number of the former gradually increased year by year, and was, in 1854, 41,400; while the houses 'off' decreased in numbers, and were, in 1854, only 3,088.

In 1861 a license was required for the Swankey shops, limited to the sale of table beer not to be consumed on the premises; to be obtained, on payment of 5s., for any house or shop, without any qualification of rating or the necessity of producing a magisterial certificate.¹

Another retail license was created in 1863,² when any licensed beer-dealer was allowed, on payment of 1*l.* and 5 per cent., to engraft on his beer-dealer's license, which authorised only sales in considerable quantities at a time, an additional license to sell in small quantities for consumption off the premises.

Meanwhile, the number of publicans in England had steadily increased. More than 68,000 took out licenses in 1867; and in 1868, the number of beer licenses was—Licensed victuallers (publicans), England, 69,000; Scotland, 550; and Ireland, 15,500. Beer-houses, England, 50,000. The total revenue from beer licenses in the United Kingdom, was nearly 367,000*l.*

¹ 24 & 25 Vict. c. 21.

² 26 & 27 Vict. c. 33, s. 1.

In 1869 the policy of the Beerhouse Acts was reversed, and licenses to retail beer under those Acts, licenses to sell table beer, and beer-dealers' additional licenses under the Act of 1863, were limited to persons authorised by the justices of the peace to receive such licenses.¹

LICENSES FOR THE RETAIL OF BEER, SINCE 1870.

The licenses available, in 1870, for the retail of beer, their price, and the scope of the licenses, were as follows :—

1. Licensed victuallers'. Price, regulated by reference to the annual value of the house, and, in the lower class of houses, by reference also to the possession of a spirit license, as follows :—House under 20*l.* per annum, with a spirit license, 1*l.* 2*s.* 0½*d.* ; without a spirit license, 3*l.* 6*s.* 1¾*d.*² House, 20*l.* or upwards, 3*l.* 6*s.* 1¾*d.* This license authorised the sale of beer in any quantity to be consumed on or off the premises.

2. Beerhouse. Price 3*l.* 6*s.* 1¾*d.* For the sale of beer, cider and perry in a 'retail' quantity,³ to be consumed on or off the premises.

3. Beershop. Price 1*l.* 2*s.* 0½*d.* for the sale of beer, cider, and perry in a 'retail' quantity, not to be consumed on the premises.

4. To sell table beer at a price not exceeding

¹ 32 & 33 Vict. c. 27 : 'The Wine and Beerhouse Act, 1869.'

² Since 1863. 26 & 27 Vict. c. 33, s. 2.

³ Any less quantity than four gallons and a half or two dozen reputed quart bottles at one time.

1½*d.* per quart, not to be consumed on the premises.
Price 5*s.*

5. Beer-dealers' additional license. Price 1*l.* 2*s.* 0½*d.*; to sell beer in a less quantity than that authorised by his dealers' license, not to be consumed on the premises.

In addition to which there were certain licenses under special enactments, viz., 6, to canteen-keepers, granted for a canteen under the regulations of the War Department. 7. To sell in a theatre or place of public entertainment licensed by the magistrates, and 8. To sell in a passenger boat, price 1*l.* 1*s.*

The number of licenses granted in the year ending March 31, 1878, was as follows:—

	E.	S.	I.	U.K.
Victuallers . . .	69,992	596	16,889	87,477
Beerhouses and shops .	46,874	275	—	47,149
Total .	116,866	871	16,889	134,626

The total revenue from licensed victuallers' beer licenses and licenses for beerhouses and shops was— for the United Kingdom: Publicans, 211,478*l.*; beer-houses and shops, 135,809*l.*; total, 347,287*l.*

In 1880, a new license was created for licensed victuallers who sell spirits, to include the sale of beer and all other alcoholic liquors.

At the same time, for licensed victuallers not selling spirits, and others authorised by the justices to have a license for the sale of wine as well as beer by retail, a license for beer and wine combined was created, costing 4*l.* for the sale 'on,' and 3*l.* for the sale 'off' the premises.

The amount of duty for licenses for beer only was altered as follows :—Licensed victuallers and beer-houses, to sell beer to be consumed on or off the premises, 3*l.* 10*s.* Beershop, to sell beer not to be consumed on the premises, and beer-dealer's additional license, 1*l.* 5*s.*¹

THE TAX ON LICENSES TO BEER-DEALERS.

1823—83.

A license, costing 1*l.* 1*s.*, created, in 1823, for sellers of the beer to be made, under the provisions of the Act of that year, at a lower rate of duty than strong beer,² was repealed in 1824 ; and in the same year a license to deal in beer was created³ costing 3*l.* 3*s.*, under which the licensed person was allowed to sell strong beer brewed by another person, in casks containing not less than 5 gallons⁴ or in not less than two dozen reputed quart bottles at one time, to be consumed elsewhere than on his premises.

The number of licenses taken out in England was slightly over 1,000 in 1825 and 1835, 975 in 1845, and 1,346 in 1855. In 1863 it was 1,652, but the additional retail license for beer-dealers brought into existence in this year, which might be obtained without a justice's certificate, had the effect of increasing the number of beer-dealers to 4,363 in 1868 and 4,848 in 1869.

In the year ended March 31, 1883, 7,619 beer-dealers took out licenses in England, of whom 4,367

¹ The Inland Revenue Act, 1880.

² Ante, p. 129.

³ 5 Geo. IV. c. 54.

⁴ Subsequently reduced to 4½ gallons.

had also additional retail licenses, the number for Scotland was 145, and for Ireland 661, forming a total for the United Kingdom of 8,425.

THE TAX ON BREWERS' LICENSES.

1784—1880.

The common brewer and the breweress of the middle ages. A tax imposed upon brewers' licenses by Pitt in 1784. Distinction between brewers of strong beer and brewers of table beer. The duties increased in 1815. On the repeal of the tax on beer, the duty on brewers charged by reference to the malt used. Increase in the duties on repeal of the tax on hops, in 1862. Repeal of the tax in 1880.

The great military and monastic establishments of the middle ages in England brewed their own ale at home. The COMMON BREWER, as the brewer for sale was termed, brewed for the supply of the local artizans and people of that class and for travellers, and the occupation of an ale brewer was not in high estimation. We had no brewer in England to match von Arteveld, the Flemish brewer and friend of Edward III. Stowe indeed mentions Murle as a rich and famous brewer in 1514, but the Thrales and Whitbreads and Besses and Barclays were a later product of civilisation. Brewing for sale was indeed chiefly the occupation of women, and to such an extent was this the case, that in one of the statutes against frauds in brewing, the penal clauses do not, in terms, extend to male brewers : the breweress, braciatrix, alone is mentioned.

Many petitions for licenses or patents for the survey and reform of the brewers in various places, may be found in the parliamentary rolls ; and subsequently in the time of Elizabeth, when the system of patents was

carried to excess, a demand was made to the queen for a patent for the survey of the brewers in the metropolis, which she was advised to refuse, on the ground that the proposed survey too nearly resembled a suggestion for an excise on beer.

The tax on beer imposed under the commonwealth extended not only to common brewers, but also to brewers for private consumption, who were required to pay a composition according to the number of persons forming the household. But this plan of a composition was subsequently abandoned, and thenceforth the private brewer remained free from the tax on beer.

The common brewers, though liable to the excise, were not subjected to any license tax until 1784, when Pitt introduced a system of license duties for excise traders, and charged brewers of 'table beer' 1*l.* for an annual license, and brewers of strong beer, as they were termed in contradistinction to brewers of table beer, according to the amount of brewing done in the previous year, on the following scale:—

Not more than 1,000 barrels	.	.	£1	10	0
Under 2,000 „	.	.	2	0	0
„ 5,000 „	.	.	5	0	0
„ 7,500 „	.	.	7	10	0
„ 10,000 „	.	.	10	0	0
„ 20,000 „	.	.	20	0	0
„ 30,000 „	.	.	30	0	0
„ 40,000 „	.	.	40	0	0
Exceeding 40,000 „	.	.	50	0	0

A 'beginner,' that is to say, a brewer commencing business, had to take out a license at a small rate, and subsequently was required to pay additional duty for the year according to the amount of his operations.

In 1815 the fixed charge for the brewer of table beer was doubled, making the duty 2*l.*, and the duties for brewers of strong beer were raised to 2*l.* 5*s.*, 3*l.*, 7*l.* 10*s.*, 11*l.* 5*s.*, 15*l.*, 30*l.*, 45*l.*, 60*l.*, and 75*l.*

In 1824 brewers of table beer were charged by means of a scale of four steps according to the quantity brewed in the preceding year :—

Not exceeding 20 barrels	.	.	.	£0	10	0
„ 50 „	.	.	.	1	0	0
„ 100 „	.	.	.	1	10	0
Exceeding 100 „	.	.	.	2	0	0

And this scale was allowed for brewers of beer other than table beer, up to not exceeding 1,000 barrels.¹

When the duty on beer was repealed, in 1830, it was provided that the rate of the license duty for brewers should be calculated *according to the quantity of malt consumed* in the brewery, taking two bushels of malt to represent one barrel, and not according to the number of barrels of beer brewed.

The rates were raised in common with the other duties of excise by Baring's 5 per cent. in 1840.

In 1862, when the duty on hops was abolished, the duties on brewers were increased in amount, with a view to obtain for the revenue an equivalent, or nearly an equivalent, to the charge in respect to the hop duty from which the brewers would be released. But the exchequer was a considerable loser by the transaction, while the brewers never ceased to complain of the tax as unfair to them, until it was repealed

¹ 5 Geo. IV. c. 54, s. 2.

in 1880, when the duty on beer was re-imposed. At that date 23,338 persons took out licenses in the United Kingdom, the amount of duty charged being 405,310*l*.¹

LICENSES FOR BREWING SINCE 1880.

The present licenses for brewing are of two sorts. The first sort, for BREWERS OF BEER FOR SALE, or common brewers as they are termed, costs 1*l*., and the object of the license is to bring the brewer under the survey of the inland revenue department. The other sort of license is applicable to PRIVATE BREWERS, who by this means are brought under the administration of the department, to be charged with beer duty by relation to the amount of materials used by them in brewing. This license costs 6*s*. The occupier of a house not exceeding 15*l*. but over 10*l*. in annual value, may obtain, for 9*s*., a license which enables him to brew free of duty for his own domestic use.² The occupier of a house not exceeding 10*l*. in annual value may, under a 6*s*. license, brew beer free of duty for his own domestic use, or for consumption by farm labourers employed by him.³

In 1882⁴ 15,774 brewers for sale took out licenses in the United Kingdom, and 110,025 other brewers, the amount of duty charged for these being 34,116*l*., or in all 49,890*l*.

¹ Year ended March 31, 1880.

² The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1881, ss. 14, 15.

³ The Inland Revenue Act, 1880, ss. 33, 34.

⁴ Year ended March 31.

The number of persons who took out the 9s. license as for houses not exceeding 15*l.* and over 10*l.* in annual value, a class which includes artisans and factory workers, was 6,700.¹

In 1883, the number of licenses was : brewers for sale, 15,071 ; private brewers, 96,676, of which 7,395 were 9s. licenses.

¹ Twenty-fifth Report, Inland Revenue, p. 15.

CHAPTER II

THE TAXES ON WINE.

SECTION I

THE TAXES ON WINE FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND
THE CASE.

The king's prerogative of wines. Portage. The carriage of wines. Special duty on malmsy from France in 1450: extended to other sweet wines. The excise on wine under the commonwealth. Duties on wine under the Great Statute of Customs, 1670. The war of the 'twists' begins. Special duties on wine, in 1695. Heavy additional taxation in the war with France, alters the course of trade. The Methuen treaty, in 1703. 'Port' becomes a favourite. Pre-eminence of Spanish and Portuguese wines in the British market. The smuggling of French wine. Report of Sir John Cope's committee in 1732. The manufacture of wine. Addison's wine brewers. Walpole's Excise Bill, to introduce a warehousing system. Is withdrawn. Additional duties in 1745, 1763, 1773 and 1780. Pitt, in 1786, consolidates the duties and places wine under excise supervision. Pitt's commercial treaty with France, 1786. The duties on French wine reduced. The Customs and Excise Duties Consolidation Act, 1787. Increase in the consumption of duty-paid French wine. The average yield, 1783-92. The duties raised in 1795, 1796 and 1804. Increase in the consumption of French wine after the war, is followed by a decrease. Reduction of the duties, by Robinson, in 1825. Its effect upon the import of French wine. Expiration of the Methuen treaty, in 1831. Althorp equalises the duties. The reduction for French wine does not affect the supply. The yield in 1832. Liberation of wine from the excise survey and regulations, in 1835. The Napoleon-Cobden treaty. Reduction of the duties, by Gladstone, in 1860. New duties by reference to the strength of wines. Result of the measure. The yield in 1864, 1875 and 1880. Proposed alteration in the duties in 1880. The yield in 1882.

The spigot of taxation has, in England, been deeply driven into the wine cask, which is one of the most

ancient contributories to our revenue. In ancient times a toll, levied by the king, whose officers took from all wine-laden ships, on their arrival at an English port, one tun before and one tun behind the mast, confirmed by repetition, became a custom termed the king's 'PRISAGE,' or customary taking of wines. This right was exercised by the king's officers in an arbitrary manner, and the merchant, unaware to what length exaction would be pressed, was unable to calculate the probable gain of his venture. On the other hand, while ships were built larger in size than theretofore, the merchants endeavoured, by lessening the size of their casks, further to mitigate the burden of the toll. Under these circumstances a wise arrangement was made by Edward I. with the foreign merchants, in 1302, in the commutation of prisage for a fixed duty, of 2*s.* for every hogshead of wine imported by them, which, as connected with the office of the king's butler, was termed BUTLERAGE.

The native merchants, refusing to adopt a composition, continued subject to prisage.

In 1372 a new duty was granted to the king, upon all wine imported by native or by foreign merchants, which, charged at so much the tun, was therefore termed the TUNNAGE OF WINES. The original rate was 2*s.*, and the grant was only for a limited term; but subsequently, tunnage continued to be granted, usually in the form of a life-grant at the commencement of a reign, sometimes at the rate of 2*s.*, and sometimes at the rate of 3*s.*, to our kings and queens during the Plantagenet, Tudor, and Stuart periods. In addition to the tunnage

on wines, the foreign merchants continued to pay the 'butlerage,' and the native merchants were liable to prisage.

Meanwhile, in 1490, a special duty had been imposed upon malmsey from Crete, which is interesting as an early instance of retaliation in taxation. The Venetians, the originators of the protective, or, as it was termed, **THE MERCANTILE SYSTEM**, had imposed an additional tax of four ducats on merchandise imported into Candy or Crete, an island which then belonged to them. In retaliation we imposed this special tax on wine; which, subsequently, was extended to 'all other malnseys and sweet wines coming through the Straits of Marrock, otherwise, Mallegay.'¹

Under the commonwealth, tunnage on wine was continued, and wine was also subjected to an excise or inland, as opposed to a customs or port, duty, at the rates of 9*l.* the tun for wines of Spain, and 6*l.* for other wines.

After the Restoration, wines were charged, the tun, under the Great Statute relating to the customs, as follows:—

Muscadels, malmseys, and other wines of the Levant, Gascoign or French wines, and sacks, canaries, malagoes, madeiras, romneys, hollocks, bastards, tents and allicants imported into London, and muscadels, malmseys and wines of the Levant imported into Bristol or Southampton, 4*l.* 10*s.* All other wines imported into the ports before-mentioned, and all wines imported into any other port, 3*l.*, and if brought thence to

¹ 1 Eliz. c. 11, ss. 9, 10, A.D. 1558.

London, the difference in charge. Rhenish wines imported into any port, 1*l.* the awine, of 40 gallons.

Merchant strangers paid an additional 1*l.* 10*s.* the tun, and 'the ancient duty of butlerage,' of 2*s.* the tun; and native merchants were liable to prisage.¹

The excise on wine was abolished; but, nine months after importation, the importer had to pay an additional duty of customs of 3*l.* the tun for French, German, Portuguese or Madeira wines, and 4*l.* the tun for other wines.

In 1666, for the purposes of the coinage, an additional duty of 10*s.* the tun was imposed upon all wines imported;² and soon after this, we commenced a war of tariffs with France, in which, in retaliation for the heavy duties imposed upon our manufactures on importation into that country, we taxed their products and manufactures on importation into England.

This *war of the tariffs* commenced in 1668, when in retaliation for Colbert's tariff of 1667, we imposed an additional duty on French wines for two years. In 1670 new duties were laid on their wines for eight years. In 1677 we prohibited the importation of French wines for three years: this prohibition was not, however, of long duration. In 1678 an additional duty was imposed upon all wines; and in 1685, as an addition to the revenue of James II. on his accession to the throne, special additional duties were granted of 8*l.* the tun for French, and 12*l.* the tun for other wines.³

¹ 12 Car. II. c. 4.

² 18 Car. II. c. 5 extended to Great Britain after the Union, and as extended, continued by 1 Geo. III. c. 16.

³ At first only for a term of years, but continued, and finally made

After the Revolution, in the war with France, we at first prohibited the importation of French wines, and then, removing the prohibition, imposed duties upon them at rates practically prohibitive. Some of the duties were temporary ; but an additional 25*l.* the tun granted, in 1696, for twenty-one years, was subsequently made perpetual.¹ These proceedings had the effect of altering the course of trade, and we were supplied from France indirectly through Spain and Portugal. The Portuguese saw their chance, improved their vineyards, and, on the outbreak of the war of the Spanish Succession, when we again prohibited importation from France, were ready with wines suited to the English taste, which, favoured in taxation under the provisions of the Methuen Treaty of 1703, came more and more into use in England year by year. When the prohibition of the importation from France was removed, March 25, 1711,² the extent to which the wine trade had been really altered became evident. Oporto wine, termed PORT-O'-PORT, became so marked a favourite, that merchants possessed of Bordeaux wines, or imitations of them, were glad to sell them for what they could get.³ *And henceforth, Spanish and Portuguese wines had an indisputable pre-eminence in the English market.*

The demand for French wine for the richer classes

perpetual by Acts of William and Mary and queen Anne. 1 Jac. II. c. 3 ; 2 Will. & Mar. sess. 2, c. 5 ; 4 & 5, c. 15 ; 1 Anne, st. 1, c. 13 ; 4 & 8, c. 13, and 9, c. 21.

¹ 7 & 8 Will. III. c. 20, s. 3 ; 1 Geo. I. St. 2, c. 12, s. 3.

² In 1710 by 9 Anne, c. 8.

³ Brewster on Trade.

was supplied by the smuggler; and at a very low estimate, more than half the French wine consumed in England was wine that had not paid any duty. The extent to which smuggling was carried on in 1732 was revealed in the report of sir John Cope's committee of the house of commons. It appeared from the depositions on oath that, in the space of two years, 4,738 hogsheads of wine had been run in Hampshire, Dorsetshire and Devonshire only; but the system was managed with such art, or the connivance of the officers so effectually secured, that only 2,808 hogsheads had been condemned within the period of nine years. On inquiry 30 officers had been dismissed, and informations had been entered against 400 persons, 38 were committed to gaol, 118 admitted to evidence, and 45 had compounded. The frauds committed in the smuggling of wine, brandy, tobacco and tea were described in the report, which, in the course of it, displayed scenes of dishonesty, perjury, informing, violence, and murder, which appeared beyond belief.¹

In 1733, Walpole, in hopes of effecting a decrease in smuggling, and of improving the revenue from wine, introduced his famous Excise Bill, whereby he intended to establish, in respect of wine and tobacco, a compulsory system of warehousing, coupled with an excise system of survey and permit, similar to that which, with excellent results, he had applied, in 1723, to tea. But unfortunately, instead of allowing the inland duties to be termed duties of customs, as he had done in the

¹ Report of sir John Cope's committee regarding the frauds committed in the revenue, June 7, 1732.

case of tea, Walpole labelled the measure in which he embodied his proposals with the evil name of Excise. This afforded to the faction opposed to him an opportunity of exciting against the Bill and its author so much popular feeling and such vehement opposition that, in the result, he withdrew the Bill, and the smuggler remained master of the position.

The wine cask was put in request for additional contributions to our revenue, in 1745, by Pelham, in the war of the Right of Search, and in 1763, by Dashwood, as part of the additional taxation of that year termed 'the first fruits of the peace' after the Seven Years' War. North followed suit, and further taxed wine twice in the war of American Independence, first in 1778, afterwards in 1780. On these four occasions, the rise was 12*l.* per tun for French wine, and 8*l.* for other wine, in accordance with the difference required by the stipulations of the Methuen treaty. In addition to which, wine was also subject to the two 5 per cent. increases on the customs duties termed 'the imposts' of 1779 and 1782. In consequence of this excessive taxation the importation of French wine, duty paid, was, in 1783, under 10,000 gallons.

In 1786, Pitt repealed the six additional duties thus imposed by Pelham, Dashwood and North, including the two imposts, and imposed, in lieu thereof, excise duties of 35*l.* 14*s.* the tun for French, and 17*l.* 17*s.* for other wine,¹ being 2*s.* 10*d.* the wine gallon for French and 1*s.* 5*d.* for other wines; rates which were raised by the customs and other subsidies to which

¹ 26 Geo. III. c. 59.

wine was liable under the Great Statute and subsequent Acts, to 5*s.* 2*d.* and 3*s.*

And now, more fortunate than Walpole in 1733, he was able to apply, without opposition, to wine the system of excise supervision, under which stock was taken of the wine, and no wine above 3 gallons at a time was allowed to be removed without an excise permit.

By the famous treaty with France which we term 1786. Pitt's, and the French, who do not like that name, Eden's treaty, we agreed to take the wines of that country at lower duties. They were already, Pitt observed, so much in the possession of our markets that with all the high duties paid by us they found their way to our tables. Was it then a serious injury to admit these luxuries on easier terms? The admission of them would not supplant the wines of Portugal or those of Spain, but would supplant only a useless and pernicious manufacture in this country. Accordingly in the Customs and Excise Duties Consolidation Act of 1787, the duties on wine were reimposed at lower rates, amounting to about 3*s.* 9*d.* *the wine gallon*, for French wines, and 2*s.* 11*d.* for the wines of Madeira, Portugal, Spain and the Cape; with higher rates for Rhenish, German, and Hungary wines.¹

This reduction of duty had the effect of increasing the import of duty-paid French wine, in the six years

¹ French—Customs, if imported into London, 29*l.* 8*s.*; any other port, 25*l.* 4*s.*; and if in a foreign ship, an additional 4*l.* 4*s.* Excise, to be paid before landing, 17*l.* 17*s.* Portugal, Madeira, Spanish, and other wines—Customs, if imported into London, 19*l.* 12*s.*, into any other port, 16*l.* 16*s.*; and if in a foreign ship, an additional 2*l.* 16*s.* Excise, before landing, 11*l.* 18*s.* Rhenish, German, and Hungary wines imported into any port, 4*l.* 4*s.* more than French wines imported into London.

from 1787 to 1792, from 100,000 to 683,000 gallons; while the average annual consumption of duty-paid wine of all sorts in Great Britain was from 1786–94, 5,524,000 gallons, and the revenue from this source about 900,000*l*. In 1795, the consumption was over 7,000,000 gallons.

Pitt now heavily taxed wine for the purposes of the war; raising the duties, in 1795, to 6*s*. 1½*d*. for French wine, and 4*s*. 1*d*. for Madeira, Portugal and Spanish wines, and, in 1796, increasing them to 8*s*. 6*d*. and 5*s*. 8*d*.¹ The consumption declined to 4,189,710 gallons in 1796; but in 1797, was nearly 5,500,000, and on an average from 1801–3, with duties at 8*s*. 10*d*. for French and 6*s*. 6*d*. for other wines, was: French wine, 274,000 gallons; other wines, 7,396,000 gallons.

When the war broke out again, after the brief interval of quiet that followed the peace of Amiens, the duties were raised, in 1804, to 11*s*. 5*d*. on French, and 7*s*. 7*d*. on other wines.²

The yield, in 1815, including the license duties for the sale of wine was 1,900,772*l*.

The additional duties, imposed professedly until twelve months after the conclusion of a definite treaty of peace, were continued after the peace; but notwithstanding this heavy taxation, the consumption of French wines now rapidly increased, reaching in 1818 the amount of the average consumption for the five years before the war. After this the import declined. On

¹ 30*l*. the tun for French and 20*l*. for other wines, in 1795 as excise, and an addition of the same amount in 1796 as customs.

² 44 Geo. III. c. 49. From April 1804 until twelve months after the conclusion of a definite treaty of peace.

an average for the five years ending 1825, it was 183,000 gallons.

Notwithstanding the increase in the population, and the general prosperity that prevailed in 1824, the consumption in this year was only 254,268 gallons of French and 4,847,976 gallons of other wines. With a view to increase the consumption, Robinson in the next year reduced the duties from 11s. 5d. to 6s. for French and from 7s. 7d. to 4s. for other wines¹ at an estimated loss of 230,000*l.* per annum; and abolishing the division of the tax into partly a customs and partly an excise duty, reimposed the duties as customs duties. In the tariff of the same year the duties were reimposed, by reference to the *imperial gallon*,² as follows:— 7s. 3d. for French, and 4s. 10d. for other wines, except Cape, for which the rate was 2s. 5d.

The reduction of the duty on French wine had the effect of increasing the import from that country to more than three times the previous amount, and the reduced duty produced 9,000*l.* a year more than the old rate of 11s. 5d. the wine gallon; another instance of *increase by means of reduction*, which, as Pitt had noticed when speaking of the treaty with France, ‘though a paradox, experience had now proved to be more than practicable.’

On the expiration of the Methuen treaty, Althorp was able to *equalise the duties* for all sorts of wine,³

1831.

¹ Except Cape, for which the rate was 2*s.*

² The old wine gallon contained 231 cubic inches; the imperial gallon contains 277·274. For practical purposes 6 wine gallons may be taken to equal 5 imperial gallons.

³ From July 10, 1831, by resolution, but the Act was not passed until October 5, 1831, 1 & 2 Will. IV. c. 30.

at 5s. 6d. the gallon, except Cape, which was still favoured by a lower charge of 2s. 9d. On this occasion, the reduction of the duty on French wine had little, if any, effect in increasing the consumption; the import of Champagne, Burgundy, and Bordeaux wine, or as we term it, claret, was already sufficient to meet the limited demand of the richer classes; the great class of consumers continued to prefer sherry and port, and these wines kept their place notwithstanding the equalisation of the duties.

In 1832 the gross yield was 1,627,000*l*.

Notwithstanding the abolition of the excise duty, wine continued to be subject to the system of excise survey and permit established by Pitt, until 1835. There was, however, little or no reason for the continuance of the inconvenience, annoyance, trouble and delay to the merchants involved in this system; for the establishment of the preventive coast-guard had diminished the operations of the smuggler, who, moreover, found a more profitable investment for his capital in the business of smuggling tobacco and spirits, articles imported in smaller packages and with less risk of damage than wine. In short, the smuggling which had been one of Pitt's chief reasons for introducing the excise system, was at an end. While adulteration, his other reason for the measure, was now considered to be a matter of internal police, rather than a subject for the interference of a revenue department, or more properly, a matter for the consideration of the purchasers of goods, on the caveat emptor principle. From sherry with a large admixture of Cape, the

prevailing form of adulteration, what harm resulted? The purchaser obtained a wine which, from the price, he must know not to be pure sherry, and drank it, pleased to have the article in that form, and unable to afford otherwise to purchase wine. On these grounds, the commissioners of excise inquiry embodied in their report on the subject, in 1834, suggestions which, in 1835, led to the liberation of wine from the excise.¹

In 1859, the yield was 1,842,137*l.*, showing an increase of 138,812*l.* on that for 1858; and at last, in 1860, in consequence of the Cobden treaty with Napoleon, Gladstone was able, on our part, to reduce the duties which amounted to a positive prohibition of the wines of the lighter vintages of France.

The duties were now imposed upon a different principle. A scale was introduced, having reference to the strength of the wine, according to the rate of proof spirit, verified by Sykes's hydrometer, the gallon:—if less than 18 degrees, 1*s.*; 26 degrees, 1*s.* 9*d.*; 40 degrees, 2*s.* 5*d.*; 45 degrees, 2*s.* 11*d.* Wine containing 45 per cent. and upwards of proof spirit, was to be deemed mixed spirits and chargeable with duty as such.²

Wine imported in bottles, of less strength than 40 degrees, was charged 2*s.* 5*d.* the gallon.

This alteration increased the quantity of wine retained for home consumption from 6,775,992 gallons in 1859, to 11,456,715 in 1864; a rise of nearly a million of gallons when compared with the consumption for 1863. The yield was now 1,317,644*l.*; an increase of 104,722*l.* on the yield for 1863.

¹ August 31, 1835, 5 & 6 Will. IV. c. 39. ² 23 & 24 Vict. c. 110.

Subsequently, the importation of wine in bottles was allowed under the same duty as that allowed on wine in the cask; and in 'the Customs Tariff Act, 1876,' the duties were imposed as follows, viz.: for wine, red or white—containing less than 26 degrees of proof spirit, 1*s.*, containing 26 degrees or more, up to 42 degrees, 2*s.* 6*d.*, the gallon. For every degree of strength beyond 42, an additional 3*d.* the gallon.

In 1875 the yield was 1,733,395*l.*, showing a small increase, of 11,499*l.*, on that for 1874. After which it declined to 1,404,173*l.* for 1880.

In this year, Gladstone proposed an alteration in the duties, to take effect from the expiration of the treaty with France, or rather, asked the House for an empowering enactment to enable the Government, before August 15, to reduce the scale of duty, in order that arrangements might be made which, he hoped, would be very beneficial to the general commerce of the country. The plan was to introduce a scale in addition to the existing scale as follows: there would be a tax of 6*d.* the gallon for wines up to a strength of 20 degrees of proof spirit. From 20 degrees to 35 degrees, there would be 1*d.* for every additional degree, so that on a wine of 35 degrees of strength there would be a duty of 1*s.* 9*d.* On wines above 35 degrees the duty would be increased by 2½*d.* the gallon up to a strength of 41 degrees. The effect would be that wines of from 37 to 39 degrees would bear the same duty as before, but those which reach 39, 40, and 41 degrees would be taxed rather more highly than before.¹ On bottled wines

¹ For every degree of strength beyond the highest above mentioned, viz. 41, an additional 3*d.* the gallon was to be charged.

the duty proposed would be 2s. the gallon. The alteration would have involved a loss to the revenue of about 300,000*l.* a year ; but in the event the proposal was not carried into effect, in consequence of the failure of our negotiations with France for a renewal of the treaty.

The yield, in 1882–3, was 1,294,000*l.*

As may be supposed, the import of wine varies considerably in different years, by reference to the wine crop, as well as the demand for wine. From 1877 to 1879 the import decreased by no less than 4,400,000 gallons, or 22·5 per cent. In 1880, there was an increase of 2,223,000 gallons, chiefly in wines *from* France, which, as the commissioners of customs shrewdly observed, having regard to the large and increasing importations of wine from Spain and Italy into France, were not necessarily wines *of* France.

The following table shows the quantity in gallons received in 1880 from the principal wine-producing countries :—

Countries.	Gallons.	Increase of 1879.
Germany and Holland .	985,000	197,000
France	6,996,000	1,289,000
Portugal	3,144,000	256,000
Spain	5,395,000	336,000
Italy	564,000	57,000
Madeira	119,000	28,000
British Possessions, Africa	12,000	1,000
Other countries . . .	170,000	59,000
	<hr/> 17,385,000	<hr/> 2,223,000 ¹

In 1881 the import fell to 16,297,000 gallons, or 6·2 per cent. ; the decrease being almost entirely in white wine from France and Spain.

¹ Customs Reports, xxv. p. 13.

SECTION II.

THE TAXES ON PERSONS SELLING WINE.

The first restrictions on the establishment of taverns. The sale of wine limited to towns. The royal prerogative to license the sale of wine in taverns. The king's agents for wine licenses, created in 1660, and abolished in 1757.

TAVERN—TABERNA, was the distinctive term for the wine-house of the middle ages, as opposed to the ale-house; and the first restrictions on the establishment of taverns were imposed in 1553, the year after that in which the keepers of alehouses and tippling houses were first required to obtain a magisterial license for their business.

The consumption of wine in England was increasing daily; 'great numbers of taverns had recently been set up in back lanes, corners, and suspicious places within the city of London, and in divers other towns and villages within the realm;' and in order to avoid much evil rule and the common resort of misruled persons frequenting these taverns, the legislature now prohibited the sale of wine in any place not within a city, town-corporate, borough, port town, or market town, or the towns of Gravesend, Sittingborn, Tuxford, and Bagshot, and placed the regulation of the retail sale of wine, in cities, boroughs and towns corporate,

in the hands of the mayor and local authorities, and in towns not corporate, in the hands of the county magistrates. The number of taverns to be allowed in any town was, however, limited to two, except in the cases specified in the Act, viz. London, which was allowed forty taverns; York, where eight were allowed; Bristol, for which the maximum number was six; Norwich, Kingston-upon-Hull, Exeter, Gloucester, Westchester, Canterbury, Cambridge and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where only four taverns were allowed; and Westminster, Lincoln, Shrewsbury, Salisbury, Hereford, Worcester, Southampton, Ipswich, Winchester and Colchester, in which the number was limited to three. All licenses for the retail of wine were to be under the seal of the licensing authority, and were to continue in force for as long as the licensing authority thought fit.¹

These regulations did not interfere with the royal prerogative to license all tavern-keepers and others selling or retailing wine to be consumed on the premises. And this prerogative was recognised in the statute of 1623, which abolished monopolies in general, but specially reserved all grants, letters patent or commissions theretofore granted or thereafter to be granted concerning the licensing of the keeping of taverns or the sale or retail of wine to be consumed on the premises; and all compositions for such licenses: provided that the benefit was reserved to the king, his heirs, and successors.²

After the Restoration, the revenue from the wine licenses, specially reserved to the king, formed the

¹ 17 Edw. VI. c. 5.

² 21 Jac. I. c. 3, s. 12.

subject of an Act passed in 1660 for the purpose of regulating the sale of wine by retail,¹ which defined retailing to mean the sale in retail measures—by the pint, quart, pottle, or gallon, or by any other greater or lesser retail measure, and prohibited, under penalty, any retailing of wine, to be consumed on or off the premises, except under a license granted in pursuance of the Act. For this purpose special commissioners were to be appointed by the king, termed his majesty's agents for granting wine licenses. The licenses were to be for any term not exceeding twenty-one years, if the person licensed should so long live, at a half-yearly rent reserved in the license and without any fine ; and were strictly personal licenses, so as to be incapable of assignment. And special officers to be appointed, were to be paid by means of a poundage on the receipts, subject to which, the revenue from the licenses was paid into the exchequer. Certain ancient privileges in regard to licensing the sale of wine were reserved in the Act to—1. The authorities of the two universities ; 2. The vintners company ; 3. Any city or town corporate ; and 4. The mayor and burgesses of the borough of St. Albans, who possessed, under a grant from Edward VI., the exclusive privilege of appointing three wine taverns in that town, for the maintenance of the school there.

This special revenue from the wine licenses, alienated in 1663 by the king, who settled the power to grant the licenses on his brother, the duke of York, and the heirs male of his body,² was revested in the Crown

¹ 12 Car. II. c.

² 5 Car. II. c. 13.

in 1670, the duke receiving, in lieu thereof, 24,000*l.* per annum, to be paid out of the hereditary excise.¹

Subsequently, in 1757, a sum of 7,002*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* per annum, the average net annual produce of the licenses for the last six years, was settled, in lieu of this revenue, on the Crown, and the special commissioners were abolished, by Legge, then chancellor of the exchequer.

Stamp Duties on Wine Licenses.

Stamp office licenses imposed in 1757. They are condemned by Fielding. They are transferred to the excise in 1790. Retailers placed under magisterial regulation in 1792. The yield in 1793. The duties doubled in 1815. The additional duties partially repealed in 1824. The Licenses Act of 1825. Licenses for dealers in wine and publicans selling wine. The yield in 1827. Baring's 5 per cent. in 1840. The yield in 1842. Gladstone's new licenses, in 1860, for refreshment-houses and grocers and shopkeepers. The Wine and Beer-house Act of 1869. The Licensing Act, 1872. Licenses for wine, to include made wines. The duties increased in 1880. New combined license for wine and beer.

Meanwhile, another revenue from licenses for the sale of wine had commenced in 1710, when a duty of 4*s.* was imposed upon every license, to be collected by means of a stamp. This extended to licenses granted by the university authorities, but not to the keepers of the three wine taverns at St. Albans;² while the free vintners, who were not required to have licenses, were not touched by the tax.

On the abolition of the wine licenses commission in 1757, retailers of wine were required to take out annual licenses to cost:—Where the business was limited to the retail of wine, 5*l.*; where beer as well as wine was retailed, in consideration of the 1*l.* paid

¹ 22 & 23 Car. II. c. 26.

² Anne, c. 23, ss. 23, 50, & 51.

for the beer license, a tax imposed by Lyttelton in the previous year, only 4*l.*; and where spirits, beer and wine were retailed, inasmuch as 2*l.*, to which amount the duty had been raised in 1751, would be paid for the spirits, as well as 1*l.* for the beer, license, only 2*l.* These duties were additional to the 4*s.* under the Act of 1710; and the definition of retailing was extended so as to include every sale of wine in bottles, in any less quantity than a quantity equal to the measure of the cask or vessel in which the wine might lawfully be imported.¹ The scope of the license was limited, in the next year, to a single set of premises for which the license was granted,² and licensed persons were required to have 'letters up,' as it is termed in revenue language, that is, to keep painted over the principal door of the house the words 'Licensed to sell Wine.'³

These new STAMP OFFICE LICENSEES, who carried on their business without any magisterial license, were not favourites with the justices, and their houses became hot-beds of iniquity of every kind. Fielding, the well-known writer and magistrate, particularly condemned them, in his evidence before a committee of the house of commons. And though he did not live to see the effect of his evidence, the committee, in accordance with his view, strongly recommended the abolition of this double licensing authority.

In 1790, Pitt transferred the duties from the stamp to the excise branch of the revenue, but no change

¹ 30 Geo. II. c. 19.

² 32 Geo. II. c. 19, s. 3.

³ Ann. Reg. x. 134.

was made in the rates, which continued to be,—for wine only, 5*l.* 4*s.*; wine with beer, 4*l.* 4*s.*; and wine with beer and spirits, 2*l.* 4*s.*¹ The retail of wine in bottles or flasks meant, at this date, as regards French wine, a sale of less than a package containing at least three dozen reputed quart bottles or flasks.²

In 1792, by an Act to amend the regulations regarding the licensing of alehouses in England,³ the excise licensees, as they now were, were required, should they sell wine for consumption on the premises, to be licensed victuallers; and retailers of wine were placed under magisterial regulation, in the same manner as retailers of ale and beer.⁴

In 1793 the number of licenses taken out was, in England, 11,639; in Scotland, 799; and the revenue, from a total for Great Britain of 12,438 licenses, 31,264*l.*

In 1815, the last year of the great war with France, the duties were doubled, by Vansittart, making the rates, 10*l.* 8*s.*, 8*l.* 8*s.*, and 4*l.* 8*s.*; ⁵ and in 1816, 11,880 licenses were taken out; a decrease of 3,148 on the number for the previous year.

The additional duties of 1815 were taken off, by Robinson, in 1824, except that charged for retailing wine as a separate business. But this license was, on the revision of the excise licenses in 1825, turned into a DEALER'S LICENSE costing 10*l.*, which authorised the sale, in any quantity, of wine not to be consumed on the premises; the only retailer recognised by the Act

¹ 30 Geo. III. c. 38.

² 27 Geo. III. c. 13, s. 24.

³ 26 Geo. II. c. 31, and 29, c. 12.

⁴ 32 Geo. III. c. 50.

⁵ 55 Geo. III. c. 30.

being the licensed victualler having an excise beer retail license, who had to pay 4*l.* 4*s.*, or, should he also have an excise spirit retail license, only 2*l.* 2*s.*,¹ for his wine license.

The duties were now uniform in amount for England, Scotland, and Ireland; and in 1827 the number of licenses taken out by dealers was, in England, 1,794; in Scotland, 33; and in Ireland, 277; by licensed victuallers, in England, 17,083; Scotland, 2,345; and Ireland, 2,258; making for the United Kingdom, 2,104 dealers, and 21,686 publicans' licenses, producing a revenue of 69,497*l.*

Baring's five per cent. on the excise duties in 1840 marred the neat simplicity of the guinea charges of 1825.

In 1842 the number of licenses was as follows: Dealers, in England, 1,682; Scotland, 26; and Ireland, 167. Licensed victuallers, in England, 22,167; Scotland, 2,867; and Ireland, 1,956; making a total for the United Kingdom of 1,875 dealers, and 26,990 publicans' licenses, producing a revenue of 81,943*l.*

The sale of wine continued henceforth to be limited to persons holding the dealer's license and licensed victuallers, until 1860, when, in order to encourage the consumption of light wines under the provisions of the Cobden treaty with France, the sale by retail was allowed under two new sorts of licenses: 1. To retail wine to be consumed on the premises of any confectioner or eatinghouse keeper licensed to keep a refreshment house.² 2. To retail wine and sweets in bottle in

¹ 6 Geo. IV. c. 81.

² This license was made, in 1863, to include the sale of sweets. 26 & 27 Vict. c. 33.

the shop of any grocer or other person keeping a shop for the sale of goods, but not for consumption on the premises.

The refreshment house wine license cost, for premises of an annual value under 50*l.*, 3*l.* 3*s.*; and for premises of the value of 50*l.* or upwards, 5*l.* 5*s.* The necessary qualification for the house being an annual value of 20*l.* per annum in any place containing a population over 10,000; and elsewhere, 10*l.* per annum.

The shop license cost, for a shop under 50*l.* annual value, 2*l.* 2*s.*, and for a shop of 50*l.* value or more, 3*l.* 3*s.*¹

In the year ended March 31, 1866, licenses were taken out as follows: Dealers, in England, 2,541; Scotland, 62; and Ireland, 132; total, 2,736, yielding 28,728*l.* Publicans, in England, 30,524; Scotland, 3,891; Ireland, 4,893; total, 39,308, yielding 86,798*l.* Other wine retailers in the United Kingdom, 5,754: duty, 15,386*l.*

In 1869 the policy of the legislation of 1860 was reversed. The excise were prohibited from granting licenses under Gladstone's Act of 1860, except on the production of a magisterial license, and this policy was continued by the Licensing Act, 1872.

All licenses to deal in or to retail wine have, since 1875, authorised the holder to deal in or to retail, as the case may be, sweets or British-made wines, mead and metheglin.²

¹ 23 & 24 Vict. c. 27.

² 38 & 39 Vict. c. 23. The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1875, s. 9.

In 1876, the higher rate of 4*l.* 8*s.* 2¼*d.* for a publican not selling spirits was reduced to 2*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.*

The licenses available for the sale of wine were therefore in 1880 as follows:—1. The dealer's license, costing 10*l.* 10*s.*, to sell any quantity not to be consumed on the premises. 2. The publican's wine license, costing 2*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.*, for the sale of wine in any quantity and for consumption anywhere. 3. The refreshment-house keeper's wine license, for the sale of wine in any quantity less than two gallons or one dozen reputed quart bottles at one time to be consumed on the premises. 4. The shop bottle license, for the sale of wine in bottles, less than one dozen reputed quarts or two dozen reputed pints at a time, not to be consumed on the premises.

In this year the price of 'a license to be taken out to sell wine by retail to be consumed on the premises,' was fixed, for refreshment-house keepers,¹ at 3*l.* 10*s.*; and that of the wine shop bottle license at 2*l.* 10*s.*

A combined license was now introduced for the sale by retail of beer and wine, to be taken out by any person in the United Kingdom authorised to obtain licenses for beer and wine; the price being, for a license to retail beer and wine, to be consumed on the premises, 4*l.*; not to be consumed on the premises, 3*l.*²

In 1883, ended March 31, the number of dealers' licenses was 4,608, of which 154 were for Scotland and 148 for Ireland. Nearly 7,000 bottle licenses were taken out.

¹ A publican cannot take out an excise license for wine only. He must be licensed for beer and wine.

² The Inland Revenue Act, 1880.

CHAPTER III.

THE TAXES ON SWEETS, MADE WINES, MEAD AND
METHEGLIN.

1696—1834.

Sweets.

‘Sweets’ used for mixing with sweet wines. A tax imposed upon sweets in 1696. Definition of sweets. Frauds on the revenue.

THE practice that prevailed in England during the middle ages of mixing honey or sugar with French wine, was subsequently extended to the Spanish and other sweeter wines which became the rivals of French wine in the English market; and towards the close of the seventeenth century a liquor manufactured for the purpose was in use for mixing with ‘wines commonly called sweet wines.’ Sold by the manufacturer to the vintner, it was by him used for raising to the sweetness required by the English palate his ‘muscadels, malmseys, cutes, tents, alicants, bastards, sacks, canaries, malagas, madeiras, or other wines, the growth of the Levant and of Spain and Portugal, and the islands or dominions to them belonging,’¹ that is to say, the sweet wines then in vogue. Upon this liquor, under the name of ‘mixed liquors termed SWEETS,’² a tax was imposed in 1696, for the

¹ 9 & 10 Will. III. c. 23, s. 3. ² 7 & 8 Will. III. c. 30 for four years.

purposes of the war with France, at the rate of 12s. the barrel, raised, in 1699, to 36s.

A definition in the taxing Act explains the basis and the nature of the manufacture. Sweets are described as :—‘liquors made by infusion, fermentation, or otherwise, from foreign fruit or sugar, or from fruit or sugar mixed with other materials, and commonly made use of for the recovering, increasing, or making of any kinds of wine or cider, or,’ it is added, ‘any liquor called wine.’¹ And in order to secure the tax, all makers of sweets for sale and retailers or vendors of such liquors having more than two gallons on the premises, were required, before sending out any sweets from stock, to give to the excise officer a notice, which enabled him to visit the premises and gauge and take an account of the liquors before they were sent out.

In practice, the traders paid little attention to the requirements of the law. Neglecting to invite the excise officer to attend, they sent out of stock, without his knowledge, to the vintners and others their customers, sweets drawn from their stock casks, and filling up the casks with newly made sweets, thus evaded payment of the duty. In consequence of these frauds on the revenue, vintners, as well as makers of sweets, were subsequently placed under a strict system of excise supervision, under which they were prohibited from sending out of stock or receiving into stock any sweets unless accompanied with a written official permission.²

¹ 10 & 11 Will. III. c. 21, ss. 2 and 5. Continued by 5 Anne, c. 19, s. 5; and made perpetual by 1 Geo. I. stat. 2, c. 12, s. 8.

² 6 Geo. I. 1719, c. 21, s. 22.

Sweets and Made Wines.

The duty on sweets reduced, in 1737, and extended to made wines. Exemption of British wine. Increasing consumption of made wines. Increase in the duty. The yield in 1815. Reduction of the tax on Cape wine, in 1814. Decrease in the consumption of made wines. Consumption of ginger wine due to the cholera, in 1832. Decline of the yield. The tax is repealed in 1834.

The statutory definition of sweets refers, in terms, to the use of foreign fruit only. But attempts were made to enforce payment of the duty in respect of liquors made from British fruit, termed 'MADE WINES,' which, as beverages, were incapable of bearing the high duty charged on sweets, an ingredient used in the preparation of sweet wines.

The manufacture of made wines was on the increase, and that of sweets on the decline. Under these circumstances, in 1737, the duty was lowered from 36s. the barrel to 12s., and was extended to made wines by an Act which included in a single charge all sweets and made wines made from British or from foreign fruit.

It may be interesting to add that care was taken to exempt from the charge 'any wines made by the owners or occupiers of British vineyards from the juice of British grapes only growing thereon.'¹

At the same time the sale of made wines for consumption on the premises was prohibited without a license from two justices; which they were to grant only to a keeper of a public victualling house, inn, coffee-house, or alehouse.'

¹ 10 Geo. II. c. 17.

The consumption of made wines during the remainder of the century was considerable.

By subsequent additions, more particularly, the three 5 per cent. increases on the excise duties imposed by North in the war of American Independence, and an additional 6s. the barrel imposed by Pitt in 1786, the duty was raised to 1*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* the barrel. In 1803, it was raised to 2*l.* 7*s.* ; and in 1815 the yield was about 25,000*l.*

The consumers of made wines were chiefly persons unable to purchase real wine, on account of the price. When, therefore, in 1814, the duty on wine from our colony at the Cape, which, though restored to the Dutch by the treaty of Amiens, we had re-taken in 1806, was reduced from 6*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* the gallon, and, favoured by this low duty, Cape wine could be imported into England at a price resembling that of the made wines, this cheap real wine found a ready market, and the consumption of made wines steadily decreased. In 1816 the yield had declined to 13,000*l.*

An attempt now made to stop the progress of decline, by taking off a third of the duty, proved of no avail. The duty, at 1*s.* 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{7}{8}$ *d.* the gallon, produced in 1823 only 11,500*l.* ; in 1824, only 10,600*l.* ; and in 1825, only 4,600*l.* It was now lowered to 6*d.* the gallon, but with no better result.¹ In 1832, indeed, an increase in the consumption raised the yield. But this was due to the visitation of the cholera, for which

¹ 6 Geo. IV. 1825, c. 37. The duty on cider and perry was imposed at 1*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* per 100 gallons. The duty on sweets and made wines included mead and metheglin.

ginger wine was considered an antidote. Subsequently, the revenue from this source again declined. Day by day Constantia and the other Cape wines advanced in public estimation ; and as some of the low-priced Cape wines could be sold by retail at 16s. or even 12s. a dozen, while the made wines could not be manufactured to sell by retail at less than 18s. the dozen, it was obvious that the difference of the duty did not affect the question of consumption.

Under these circumstances, when the commissioners of excise inquiry passed this tax under review, they condemned it, as unproductive, a hindrance to the manufacturer, and useless for any purpose of protecting the native manufacture, and expressed an opinion that it should be forthwith repealed.¹ The repeal, effected in 1834, included the tax on mead and metheglin, beverages now of merely local importance and not in common use.²

Since the repeal, the consumption of made wines has shown a considerable increase, due, in the opinion of a competent authority, to the difference of taxation in their favour:—Speaking of the operation of the existing duties on wines of all sorts, Gladstone, in his Budget speech of 1860, observed that they were—on foreign wine, 5s. 10d. the gallon ; on Cape wine, 2s. 11d. ; and on made wines, 1s. 2d., a calculation obtained by reference to the duties on the raisins, sugar and brandy, the materials for making them chiefly used by the most respectable manufacturers. And he added that the result of these differential duties had been that the consump-

¹ 5th Report.

² 4 & 5 Will. IV. c. 77.

tion of foreign wine had diminished, the consumption of colonial wine had increased, and the consumption of British wine had, according to the best information he could obtain, doubled within the last ten years.¹

Since this, the duty on sugar has, on the one hand, been repealed; while, on the other, the duties on foreign and colonial wine have been equalised and are now payable according to an alcoholic test.

Mead and Metheglin.

Taxed from 1660–1766. Subsequent tax, repealed in 1834.

These beverages were liable, under the Acts for the hereditary and temporary excise passed after the Restoration, in 1660, to a duty, which was repealed in 1766. Subsequently, they were charged with the same duty as sweets and made wines, and were freed from taxation, in 1834, at the same time as those liquors.

The License Duty on the makers of Sweets, Made Wines, and Metheglin.

The tax first imposed by Pitt, in 1784. It is altered, in 1825, and repealed, in 1834.

At the date of the repeal of the tax on sweets, made wines, mead and metheglin, the manufacturers were liable to an annual license duty. This, as first imposed in Pitt's Licenses Act, 1784, was, for makers of mead for sale, 1*l.*; and for makers of any kind of sweets other than mead for sale, 5*l.* Subsequently, in 1825, the two licenses had been combined; and every 'maker of any kind of sweets or of made wines, or of

¹ Financial Statements, p. 150.

mead or metheglin for sale,' had been required to take out an annual license costing 2*l.* 2*s.* The commissioners of excise inquiry, when reporting on the tax on sweets, suggested that it was not advisable to repeal this license ; but the legislature, taking a different view, abolished the tax on the manufacturers at the same time as the tax on the liquors manufactured. 15 licenses were taken out in 1833 and in 1834.

THE TAXES ON PERSONS SELLING SWEETS, MADE WINES,
MEAD, AND METHEGLIN.

Licenses to Retailers.

Retained after the abolition of the tax on sweets and made wines.
A justices' license required in 1872.

In 1737, when made wines were subjected to duty, the retailers for consumption on the premises were required to have a justices' license. But they were not liable to any revenue license until 1757, when the commissioners for wine licenses were abolished. Higher duties were now imposed upon the retailers of wine ; and as the resemblance of made wines to wine was sufficient to render it probable that evasions of the new license duties and frauds would occur unless the retailers of such liquors were also required to be licensed, they were subjected to annual licenses, as for the sale of wine. Retailing was defined to be, the sale, in open vessels, by the pint, quart, pottle, or gallon ; and in bottles, in any quantity less than 25 gallons.¹

In 1786, when Pitt considerably raised the duty

¹ 31 Geo. II. c. 31.

on these made wines, a separate license was created for the sale of such liquors costing 2*l.* 4*s.* only.¹ The licensees were free from magisterial regulation until 1788, when they were required, if selling for consumption on the premises, to be licensed victuallers.²

In 1790 the license was made an excise license;³ and the number of licenses taken out in 1791 was, in England, 865. Subsequently, the duty, doubled from 1815, but reduced, in 1820, again to 2*l.* 4*s.*, was, in 1825, reimposed at 1*l.* 1*s.* in the General Excise Licenses Act, when the license was allowed to include the sale by retail of mead and metheglin.

On the repeal of the tax on sweets and made wines and the licenses on the makers, in 1834, the retail license was retained, with a definition of retailing to include all sales in any less quantity than in a whole cask containing fifteen gallons.⁴ And as these liquors had ceased to be 'exciseable liquors,' within the Acts relating to magisterial supervision, this license might be obtained without any justices' certificate. The number of licenses taken out annually now rapidly increased, from 829 in 1834 to nearly 2,000 in 1838, over 5,000 in 1848, 8,786 in 1858, and 10,438 in 1863. But the process was reversed, after 1872, when the retailers were again placed on the same footing as regards the requirement of a justices' license as retailers of wine:⁵ the number of licenses for 1874, being in England only 7,323.

¹ 26 Geo. III. c. 74.

² 28 Geo. III. c. 37, s. 32.

³ 30 Geo. III. c. 38, s. 15.

⁴ 4 & 5 Will. IV. c. 77, s. 11.

⁵ 35 & 36 Vict. c. 94, s. 74.

Licenses to Dealers.

Tax imposed by Gladstone, in 1860. Definition. Number of licenses in 1875, 1878 and 1883.

No license was required for the sale of these liquors in a quantity of fifteen gallons or upwards, from 1834 to 1860, when Gladstone, acting on information he had received that the consumption of made wines had doubled within the last ten years, whereas the consumption of foreign wine had diminished, placed dealers in made wines more approximately on a footing with dealers in foreign wine by requiring them to take out annual licenses. A dealing was defined to be the sale in any quantity amounting to two gallons or upwards, or as regards sales in bottles, in one dozen or more reputed quart bottles at one time. The license, costing 5*l.* 5*s.*, was required for any dealing in mead or metheglin as well as in sweets or made wines.¹

The license duties for dealers in and retailers of these liquors became of diminished importance from a revenue point of view after 1875, when Stafford Northcote allowed the sale of them to be included in and covered by licenses granted to dealers in and retailers of wine properly so called, without any further payment of duty.²

The number of licenses for the years ended March 31, 1875, 1878, and 1883, was as follows:—

1875	E.	S.	I.	U.K.	Duty
Dealers . .	101	23	29	153	822 <i>l.</i>
Retailers . .	7,349	90	142	7,541	8,736 <i>l.</i>

¹ 23 & 24 Vict. c. 113, s. 1.

² 28 & 29 Vict. c. 23, s. 9.

1878		E.	S.	I.	U.K.	Duty.
Dealers	. .	48	8	3	59	337 <i>l.</i>
Retailers	. .	3,947	52	31	4,030	4,486 <i>l.</i>
1883						
Dealers	. .	52	10	4	66	370 <i>l.</i>
Retailers	. .	2,946	59	10	3,015	3,786 <i>l.</i>

The LICENSE TO A DEALER IN SWEETS costs 5*l.* 5*s.*, and authorises the sale of any quantity amounting to two gallons or upwards, or in one dozen or more reputed quart bottles at one time, not to be consumed on the premises.

The LICENSE TO A RETAILER OF SWEETS costs 1*l.* 5*s.*, an amount imposed in 1880, in lieu of the 1*l.* 2*s.* 0½*d.* formed by the addition of Baring's 5 per cent. of 1840 to the charge of 1*l.* 1*s.* It authorises the sale of sweets in any quantity less than two gallons or one dozen reputed quart bottles at one time, to be consumed on or off the premises.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TAXES ON SPIRITS.

Introduction.

The sorts of spirits consumed in the United Kingdom. The basis of the manufacture. The process of the manufacture of spirit.

POTABLE spirit has been derived, in various countries and at different times, from a great variety of materials, and has been known by a multiplicity of names; but many sorts of spirit produced in other countries are practically unknown as articles of consumption in this country. The sorts best known and most generally consumed are: brandy, rum, geneva, hollands, whisky, British brandy, and gin.

BRANDY, brandevin, *vin brûlé*, is derived from wine, and is, therefore, a product of wine-growing countries. The principal seat of the manufacture has always been in France, where brandy is still termed *eau de vie*, the water of life. The best French brandy bears the name of the place of manufacture, Cognac, where, and in the surrounding country in the Charente, north of Bordeaux, are produced the famous cognac fin champagne, in a very limited district, the cognac des bois, and the cognac des côtes on the land nearer the sea.

RUM, an abbreviation for *saccharum*, is derived from the refuse of the cane juice, termed molasses, and

portions of the cane after the extraction of the sugar, and is therefore the product of sugar-growing countries, such as the West Indies, and the best is Jamaica rum. The famous pineapple rum is produced by inserting slices of the pineapple in the puncheons containing the spirits.

GENEVA, from *genievre*, juniper spirit, is compounded of spirit derived from many different articles that contain what is termed grape sugar, and the essence of juniper berries. HOLLANDS is Dutch geneva, and the principal manufacture is at Schiedam, where only rye and barley are used in distilling the spirit used in the manufacture.

WHISKY—usky—usquebaugh — usquebeatha, the Irish water of life, the *aqua vitae* of Scotland, now also termed whisky, is derived from malted grain.

BRITISH BRANDY is manufactured in this country by the rectifier, from spirits of home distillation and other ingredients, which form a spirit resembling brandy properly so called, in appearance, smell and taste.

GIN—short for geneva—is a home-manufactured spirit compounded with the juniper berry so as to resemble geneva. There are different varieties of gin—unsweetened gin, old tom, &c.

It may be added that, with reference to its strength, spirit is divided, for revenue purposes, into 1. Alcohol, the term used for pure spirit, i.e. spirit free from water. 2. ‘Spirit of wine,’ which is spirit of a certain strength.¹ 3. Other spirit, of less strength than spirit of wine.

¹ Rectified spirit of the strength of not less than 43 degrees above proof.

The basis of the manufacture of spirit from any of the materials before mentioned is the *grape sugar* they contain, so termed in contra-distinction to the ordinary sugar of commerce, from which it differs in certain particulars of its composition which it is not necessary here to specify. This grape sugar exists in wine, beer, cider, and mead ; and these liquids, which contain alcohol already formed, yield up by a simple distillation the alcohol they contain. It exists also in the sugar of commerce, or cane sugar, in molasses, a derivative of cane sugar, and in treacle, the produce of our sugar refineries ; and when these are used in the manufacture of spirits, it is necessary as a first process to dissolve them in a proper quantity of water.

Grape sugar may also be obtained from a variety of different fruits, and from corn, grain or vegetables containing starch, such as wheat, barley, oats, rye, buckwheat, maize, rice, potatoes, beetroot, beans, &c.

When malt or corn is used in distillation, the preliminary process consists of crushing or grinding the malt or corn, and mixing, or, as it is termed, mashing. The malt is crushed with rollers, but grain not malted has to be ground with mill-stones, and, when used, is always mixed with more or less malted grain.

The crushed malt or ground grain is then placed in a vessel termed the mash-tun ; hot water is added, and the mixture is stirred by men with instruments termed mashing oars, or in large distilleries with oars revolving by means of machinery. The product of this mashing process is left to cool, the grains settle at the bottom of the mash-tun, and the liquid portion becomes semi-

transparent and sweet in consequence of the conversion of the starch in the grain into sugar. The saccharine solution is now drawn off into a vessel termed the 'under-back,' from its position with reference to the mash-tun. It is now termed the 'wort,' and having been mixed with a weaker wort, the result of a second mashing of the grains, is removed to a shallow vessel of large area, where it is cooled by means of currents of air, rapidly, in order to prevent a decomposition of the sugar which would otherwise ensue.

When the wort has been reduced to a temperature of between 65° and 75° Fahrenheit, it is run into vessels termed 'fermenting backs.' In these, yeast is added to the wort, and the mixture is stirred up; and in a few hours, fermentation commences.

When fermentation has commenced, the wort is termed 'wash;' and when fermentation has ceased, the wash is ready for distillation. It is then run into a vessel termed the wash charger, and the first or brewing process is now complete.

Distillation, as effected by the common still, is a simple process. By means of the application of heat to the vessel containing the wash, is produced a spirituous vapour which passes off from the still, through a pipe, just as steam from the mouth of a kettle on the fire. The pipe, turning downwards, passes through cold water, and thereupon the vapour is chilled into, and issues from the end of the pipe in the form of, a liquid.

The product of the first distillation is termed spirit of the first extraction, or in revenue language, in England and Scotland, 'LOW WINES,' in Ireland 'singlings.'

The low wines and singlings are again distilled. In Ireland and Scotland, the spirits produced by this second distillation are sold to the consumer. In England the raw spirits pass into the hands of the rectifier, who, by a further process of distillation and compounding, prepares them for the consumer.

Plain rectified spirits are used only for fortifying wines, principally sherry, and brandy.

SECTION I.

THE TAXES ON THE DISTILLERY, FOREIGN SPIRITS
AND RUM.

(a) THE TAX ON THE DISTILLERY.

Taxation of spirits under the commonwealth excise. The duties under the hereditary and temporary excise Acts after the Restoration. French brandy prohibited. Development of the home manufacture of spirits. A tax imposed upon the distillery. The duties raised in 1709. The yield in 1726 and 1727. The Act against geneva. Parliament brandy. The Act against spirituous liquors, 1736; is repealed in 1743, and the duties are increased. The duties again increased in 1746, 1751, 1760 and 1762. The yield, 1762-69. Excessive taxation encourages illicit distillation and smuggling.

When spirits in England passed from the list of cordials into the list of beverages, all aqua vitae or strong waters made or distilled within the commonwealth, either of foreign or domestic spirits or materials, were subjected to an excise of 2*d.* the gallon, to be paid by the first maker or seller thereof respectively.¹

After the Restoration, the excise on spirits was granted to Charles II. under the Acts for the Hereditary and Temporary excises,² and in 1671 additional duties were imposed upon strong waters or aqua vitae and low wines, made of any imported wine, cider or other materials, for six years, which though continued subsequently for three years more, eventually were

¹ Scobell, *Acts and Ordinances*, ii. 454.

² 12 Car. II. cc. 23, 24.

allowed, in consequence of the disputes that arose between the king and parliament, to expire in 1680.

French eau de vie, or brandy from brandevin, vin brûlé, was at this date liable to the considerable duty of 8*d.* the gallon. But French fashions prevailed in everything, and French brandies almost monopolised the market. 'Whosoever will take the pains to look into the customs books,' writes, in 1680, the author of 'Britannia Languens,' 'will find a mighty increase of imported French brandy since 1674 to the time of the prohibition.' This prohibition, imposed in 1677, though of no long duration, had the effect of encouraging our distillers to commence a distillation of spirit from corn, which, when, on the outbreak of the war after the Revolution, we again excluded French brandy, developed into an important home manufacture of spirits.

A tax was now imposed upon the DISTILLERY, *charged upon the low wines* or spirits of the first extraction, at so much the gallon, at various rates, according to the kind of materials from which they were derived, viz., malted corn, cider and perry home-made, any foreign or imported materials, and brewers' wash, or tilts, or any other English materials than those before mentioned.² Some of these rates were prohibitory, and the practical result of the legislation on the subject was to limit the manufacture of spirit to spirit made from malt.

The yield of the tax had risen gradually to an

¹ 22 & 23 Car. II. c. 5. for six years from June 24, 1671.

² 2 Will. & Mar. c. 9, 1689.

average of about 40,000*l.*, when, in 1709, additional duties were imposed for the purposes of the war of the Spanish Succession.¹ These, at once, considerably increased the revenue from this source and, when the invention of our manufacturers of spirits triumphed in the production of a cheap spirit exactly suited to the English taste in the new geneva or gin, brought the yield in 1726, for the first time to over 100,000*l.*

The drinking of gin had now increased among the lower classes to such a degree that the legislature interfered and suppressed that kind of spirit by the Act against geneva ; but the revenue kept up, and was from 1727–9 about 115,000*l.*, for the manufacturers invented another form of cheap spirit in imitation of French brandy, which, not being what is termed a compounded spirit, was not within the Act, and was therefore termed ‘Parliament’ brandy.

In the manufacture of this spirit foreign materials were used, and more particularly quantities of the lowest sort of French brandies ; and complaints of the agriculturists that they found no market for their barley with the distillers, and that the new spirit was more pernicious in its effects than gin, led to the repeal of the Act against geneva. The people continued to be drunken with their old favourite, gin, until Jekyll’s Act was passed in 1736, which endeavoured to suppress drunkenness from gin, brandy, or any other spirituous liquors, by means chiefly of an enormous license duty on the sale. But this Act failed in consequence of the stringency of its provisions, and was repealed in 1743

¹ 8 Anne, c. 7, s. 1.

by the Wilmington administration, who were in want of funds for the war which had commenced.

An endeavour was now made to moderate the consumption of spirits by raising the price by means of an increase in the tax on the distillery, and by better regulation of the retailers. The duties now imposed were charged, as previously, on the low wines or spirits of first extraction, at different rates according to the materials used, viz. foreign materials, or malt and corn, or brewers' wash or tilts, with other rates for low wines drawn from other materials, which were in effect almost prohibitory.¹

This measure caused a decrease in smuggling and an increase in the revenue, which in 1745 reached for the first time 300,000*l*. In 1746 additional duties were imposed by Pelham for the expenses of the war of the Right of Search,² but the next rise in the tax was due to the continuance of drunkenness among the lower orders. This had been noticed as the fruitful parent of a variety of evils, by Fielding, the famous novelist, who was also a police magistrate, in his 'inquiry into the causes of the late increase of robbers,' published in 1748, in one part of which he treats of drunkenness, and his observations formed the principal ground for the legislation of 1751.³ An increase now made in the duties and new regulations regarding the sale of spirits had the effect of diminishing the consumption of duty paid spirits from about 7,000,000 gallons to less than 4,500,000 for 1752 ; but the yield

¹ 10 Geo. II. c. 8.

² 11 Geo. II. c. 12.

³ See 24 George II. c. 40.

continued at about the same amount as before the increase, until 1758, when there was a considerable decrease in consequence of the prohibition of distilling from grain.

When this prohibition was removed in 1760, in order to prevent the return of all those mischiefs which would ensue should spirits be suffered to be sold at as low a rate as they were before the prohibition, the duty was doubled ; and in 1762 an additional 3*d.* was added, mainly with a view to keep the price of spirits high and prevent excess in spirit-drinking.¹ The effect of this increased taxation of spirits was to keep the number of gallons charged with duty for home consumption annually at from 2,250,000 to 2,500,000 for the next fifteen years. The yield being on a rough average about 450,000*l.* ; but in one or two years over half a million. In 1778 it rose to 584,187*l.*

Hitherto the governing principle in the taxation of spirits had been the repression of drunkenness. Henceforth revenue was the main object ; and in the later years of the war of American Independence, 1779–82, spirits were subjected to additional taxation which had the effect of encouraging illicit distillation and the smuggling of French brandy to such an extent that subsequently, in 1785, the yield of the tax was only 280,267*l.*

Pitt now reduced the duty, and in this year and 1786 and 1788 took measures to remedy the defects in the distillery laws and check illicit distillation and smuggling. The duty, henceforth *charged upon the*

¹ 33 Geo. II. c. 9 ; 2 Geo. III. c. 5.

fermented wort or *wash* from which the spirit is extracted, was imposed in Pitt's Consolidation Act in 1787, at the rate of 6*d.* on the wash, equal to 2*s.* 6*d.* the gallon of spirits.¹

From the success of Pitt's measures in repressing illicit distillation, a small additional duty of 1*d.* on the wash, equal to 5*d.* the gallon of spirits, imposed, in 1791, for the Nootka Sound armament,² produced considerably more than the 87,000*l.* expected; and the yield, which had been 562,000*l.* in 1790, was 720,000*l.* in 1793.

This elasticity in the revenue marked the tax as one for an early increase, when Pitt was called on to find additional sources of revenue for the war with Revolutionary France. The duty, raised in 1794, 1795, 1797, and 1800, by four pennies on the wash, equal to 1*s.* 8*d.* on the spirits, was now charged at a rate exceeding in amount the rate chargeable at the end of the war of American Independence. The yield in 1800 was, for the first time, over a million.

In 1803, on the recommencement of the war after the peace of Amiens, Addington raised the duty by 5½*d.* on the wash, equal to 2*s.* 3½*d.* on the spirits;³ and in 1811, Spencer Perceval raised it by an additional 4½*d.* on the wash, or about 1*s.* 10½*d.* on the spirits.⁴ The tax had thus been trebled since the beginning of the war. The duty was now charged at a rate *equivalent to* 10*s.* 2¾*d.* the imperial gallon,

¹ 27 Geo. III. c. 13, Sched. F. The officer having the distillery under survey was to keep an account of the wash and give the distiller, for every 100 gallons of wash, a credit for 20 gallons of spirits of the strength of one to ten over hydrometer proof. See 26 Geo. III. c. 73, s. 25.

² 31 Geo. III. c. 1.

³ 43 Geo. III. c. 81.

⁴ 51 Geo. III. c. 59.

according to which the duty has been charged since 1825 to the present day.

The effect of this enormous increase in the duty on the consumption and the revenue cannot be accurately calculated, because, for several years prior and subsequent to 1811, distillation from grain was prohibited in consequence of the high price of corn; but in 1815 the net yield was 2,705,473*l.*; which added to the yield for Scotland, gave a total for Great Britain of nearly 3,500,000*l.*

After the war, the tax continued at the rate to which it had been raised in 1811, until 1819, when it was raised to a rate equivalent to 1*l.* 8½*d.*¹ the imperial gallon, to produce, it was hoped, an additional 500,000*l.* per annum. But this rate proved excessive, and the yield fell off in 1825 to 2,000,000*l.*

An important report of lord Wallace's commission, in 1822, on the subject of the distillery laws in England, Scotland and Ireland, had directed attention to the result of the excessive duties and the inadequacy of the existing method of charge. A reduction of duty in Scotland and Ireland and improvements in the distillery laws had been made, with signal success, and in 1825 the duty for England was reduced by Robinson, and imposed at the rate of 7*s.* the imperial gallon of proof spirits.² The method of charge in use in Scotland was now applied to England;³ and the result of

¹ 59 Geo. III. c. 53.

² As denoted by Sykes's Hydrometer. This hydrometer was established by an Act of 1818, 58 Geo. III. c. 28. It denotes as proof spirit that which, at the temperature of fifty-one degrees by Fahrenheit's thermometer, weighs exactly twelve-thirteenth parts of an equal measure of distilled water.

³ 6 Geo. IV. c. 80.

these alterations was to raise the yield to an average for the years 1827–1830, of 2,804,000*l*. While the consumption, which had been, in 1825, about 3,684,000 gallons, rose, in 1830, to 7,732,000 gallons.

The Tax in Scotland, down to 1829.

The history of the tax on the distillery in Scotland presents an interesting feature, in the breakdown of the license system having reference to the *capacity of the still* used, established in that part of Great Britain by an Act of 1786 and subsequent amending Acts.

Under this system the distiller was required to take out an annual license, and pay an amount of duty calculated by reference to the assumed maximum yield of the still used by him. Originally it was assumed that a still could only be discharged once in *twenty-four hours*, and on this basis the duty was charged at the rate of 2,025 gallons for every gallon of the capacity of the still.¹ But ten years of practice enabled the distiller to perform the process in *three minutes*.²

A complicated code of law established in the endeavour to correct the imperfections of this license system was eventually abolished, with the system, in 1814, and the system in force in England was applied to Scotland. But the change was from bad to worse ; for the spirits produced under the new system were so little suited in quality and flavour to the taste of the Scotch, that the legal trader found no market, and the effect of the change was to render illicit distillation and

1814.

¹ 26 Geo. III. c. 64 ; 39 & 40 Geo. III. c. 73.

² 5 Report, Comm. Rev. Inquiry, p. 9.

smuggling universal. A country overrun with smugglers; laws openly set at defiance; bands of lawless persons, armed with defensive weapons, and even in some cases preceded by pipers, unloading vessels and carrying off the smuggled spirits without molestation; such was the picture of the state of affairs presented to the commissioners of revenue inquiry. On the banks of Loch Lomond the important city of Glasgow was almost entirely supplied by the smugglers.¹

In these circumstances, the system introduced in 1814 was abolished, and, by a series of Acts, a new method of distillery regulation was established, aimed to avoid any interference with the distiller that might prove injurious to the freedom of his operations or the production of spirits of a palatable quality. The use of an instrument termed by distillers the 'saccharometer' enabled the excise officer to ascertain the density of the wort extracted from the grain, and therefrom to infer the quantity of spirit it is capable of producing. The duties were reduced to 6s. 2d. the imperial gallon at 7 per cent. over proof, and were charged on the wash and on the spirits in certain specified proportions.² But the continued prevalence of smuggling in Scotland was noticed in the fifth report of lord Wallace's commission, and their recommendations on the subject led to the introduction of new regulations in an Act passed in 1823,³ when the duty was lowered,

¹ Evidence of Mr. Woodbine Parish, Oct. 25, 1822.

² The first two Acts passed in 1816 and 1818, 56 Geo. III. c. 106, and 58 Geo. III. c. 50, were partly experimental.

³ 4 Geo. IV. c. 94.

from a rate equivalent to 6s. 2d. the imperial gallon to 2s. 4d. and a fraction. This reduction of the duty had the effect of more than doubling the number of gallons brought to charge. The duty was raised to 2s. 10d. the imperial gallon in 1825, and at that rate the tax produced in 1828 and in 1829 over 800,000*l.* from 5,700,000 gallons brought to charge, as against 2,300,000 in 1823.

The Tax in Ireland, down to 1829.

In Ireland the original system of charging the duty had reference to an account taken of the wash used for distillation, and the singlings, or spirits of first extraction.

Subsequently a system of licenses for the stills was introduced, based upon the assumption that every still, according to its size, would produce a certain number of gallons of spirits in a year. But the manufacturer soon introduced improvements in the process. The legislature answered by increasing the charge. This was again soon topped by the distiller, to be met by fresh legislation, which led to additional efforts to produce a greater quantity of spirits than was assumed by law to be possible ; and in the event, the distiller was found to be able to produce, in the year, an amount *thirty times that of the original estimate of his capability.*

The yield in 1815 was 1,312,908*l.* ; and in 1817–1819, at 5s. 7½d. the gallon, about a million. Subsequently, in consequence of the extensive prevalence of illicit distillation, the yield declined, until 1823, when, on the recommendation of the commissioners of

revenue enquiry, the system of charge in existence in Scotland was applied to Ireland,¹ and the duty was reduced to 2s. 5d. and a fraction the imperial gallon. An immense increase in the spirits brought to charge was the result. The amount, which had been in 1823, 3,590,000 gallons, rose in 1824 to 6,690,000, in 1825 to 9,260,000, and, after a decrease for 1826. was, in 1827, 8,260,000.

The Tax in the United Kingdom, 1829.

In 1829, with the duty at 7s. for England, 2s. 10d., to which it had been raised in 1825, for Scotland, and 2s. 10d. for Ireland, the yield in the United Kingdom was over 4,800,000l. An additional 6d. on all the duties imposed by the Wellington administration, in 1830,² when they repealed the duty on beer, raised the yield to nearly 5,200,000l. in 1831. In 1839 it had increased to 5,363,000l. In the next year an additional 4d. was imposed by Baring, raising the duties to 7s. 10d. for England, 3s. 8d. for Scotland, and, for Ireland, where 1s. had been taken off in 1834, to 2s. 8d. Baring's 4d. and the principles of father Matthew, which were then in their highest ascendent in Ireland, had the effect of decreasing the number of gallons of spirits charged and slightly diminishing the yield.

In 1842, when Peel imposed the income tax, and, for reasons which are stated under the head of 'Income tax,'³ limited the tax to Great Britain, in partial compensation, he raised the duty on the distillery in Ireland

¹ 4 Geo. IV. c. 94.

² 11 Geo. IV. and 1 Will. IV. c. 49.

³ Vol. iii. p. 120.

by an additional 1s.; but this was taken off, in 1843, in consequence of the distress arising from the potato famine.

The revenue from this source increased slowly until 1851, when for the first time a yield of over 6,000,000*l.* is recorded; but a more rapid tendency upwards was already visible in 1852 and 1853, when the first step in a judicious course of assimilation of the duties throughout the kingdom was taken by Gladstone. 1s. additional for Scotland, raised the duty in that part of the kingdom from 3*s.* 8*d.* to 4*s.* 8*d.*; while 8*d.* additional for Ireland, made the duty there 3*s.* 4*d.*

An additional 1*s.* 4*d.* for Scotland and 8*d.* for Ireland, imposed in 1854, towards the expenses of the war with Russia,¹ estimated to produce 450,000*l.*, raised the duties in those parts of the kingdom to 6*s.* and 4*s.* They were further increased by Cornwall Lewis, in 1855, to 7*s.* 10*d.* and 6*s.*; ² and this increase, estimated to produce an additional 1,000,000*l.* of revenue, equalised the duties in England and Scotland. In August in the same year, 2*d.* additional raised the duties to 8*s.* for Great Britain and 6*s.* 2*d.* for Ireland.³ And in 1858, the last step in the course of assimilation of the duties throughout the kingdom was taken, by Disraeli, who increased the duty in Ireland by 1*s.* 10*d.*⁴ This increase was estimated to produce an additional half million of revenue, but the result fell short of the anticipation of the chancellor of

¹ 17 & 18 Vict. c. 27.

² By an additional 1*s.* 10*d.* for Scotland and 2*s.* for Ireland. 18 & 19 Vict. c. 22.

³ Ibid. c. 94.

⁴ 21 & 22 Vict. c. 15.

the exchequer, and caused his successor to observe, in 1859, that spirits would not at the time bear a higher rate of duty. The yield in that year was 8,953,000*l.*; and from this point in its history, the tax becomes of supreme importance as a contributory to the revenue. Its constantly increasing yield, taken with that of the income tax, enabled our chancellors of the exchequer to complete the reform of our fiscal system. In 1860, a general Spirits Act was passed for the United Kingdom;¹ and in July the duty was raised to 10*s.*² This was for the war with China; but the duty was continued at the same rate after the war, and henceforth it was allowed, on all sides, that this tax is one that should be kept at the highest possible rate that will not lead to smuggling.

The yield, in 1862, was 9,667,000*l.*; in 1865, over ten millions, and in 1868 about 10,500,000*l.*, and thenceforth the yield increased year by year as follows, in thousands of pounds:—412, 494, 810 (in 1871), 474, 890 (in 1873), 256, and 256. In 1876 there was a decrease of 281,000*l.*, but in 1877, a recovery to the amount of 300,000*l.*, bringing the yield to the enormous sum of 15,134,000*l.*

The increase, therefore, from 1868 to 1878 was not far short of five millions.

Large deliveries of spirits from bonded warehouses for some weeks before the Budget day of 1878, in expectation of an increase of duty, and the depression of trade, combined to cause a decrease of 727,231*l.* in the yield for 1878.³ And a bad harvest, the continued

¹ 23 & 24 Vict. c. 114.

² Ibid. c. 129.

³ Ending March 31, 1879.

depression of trade, and a growing disposition on the part of many persons, of all classes, to reduce, if not to discontinue, the use of spirits as an ordinary beverage, caused a further reduction in the yield for 1879. It was now 13,631,000*l.*, that is to say, slightly less than the yield for 1872–3, and less by a million and a half than the yield for 1875–6, and that for 1877–8.

A moderately good harvest in 1880, a partial revival of trade, and a decrease in the quantity of foreign plain spirits used, raised the yield in 1880–1 by 761,787*l.*

In this year a new Spirits Act was passed, in supersession of the Act of 1860,¹ as regards the distillery and rectifiers of and dealers in spirits, and to incorporate with the enactments on those subjects, the more recent enactments relating to warehousing spirits and dealings with spirits in warehouse, as well as those relating to the use of spirits duty free for the purposes of the arts and manufactures, which was first allowed in 1855.

The enactments relating to the DISTILLERY provide for the licenses and the registration, or entry as it is termed, of the distillery premises, the stills and utensils; for the supervision of the business by the revenue officers during the brewing and distilling periods; the storing of the spirits, and the charge of duty.

The enactments relating to the WAREHOUSING of spirits relate to private and to crown warehouses, and make provision for—the transfer of the spirits to purchasers; the vatting, blending, and racking of spirits; the reduction of the spirits in strength with water; the

¹ 43 & 44 Vict. c. 24.

sweetening and colouring of spirits; the use of them for fortifying wines; the bottling of spirits, and the removal of them for home consumption or exportation. In short, the trader is allowed, under proper security, every possible facility for dealings with the spirits before payment of duty is required.

In 1881-2 there was a decrease of 119,786*l.* in the yield as compared with that for the preceding year. It was now 14,273,786*l.*

(b) THE TAX ON FOREIGN SPIRITS.

The tax on foreign spirits under the commonwealth excise, and after the Restoration. French brandy a 'strong water perfectly made.' Excessive taxation alters the course of trade. The direct trade in the hands of the smuggler. French brandy consumed by the upper classes. British or Parliament brandy invented. The duties lowered in 1733, to encourage the manufacture of better brandy and prevent a recurrence to gin. Pitt reduces the duties in 1786. The yield from 1803 to 1815. The excessive taxation of brandy maintained in the interests of the West India planters and their rum. Reduction of the duty, in 1846, by Peel, and, in 1860, by Gladstone. The duties on foreign, colonial and British spirits, in effect, equalised. Subsequent yield of the tax.

Foreign spirits were charged, under the commonwealth excise, in two classes:—1. Spirits made from wine or cider, not perfectly made, that is to say, not made so as to be fit for consumption, and (2) spirits perfectly made, or, as they were termed in that form, 'strong waters' perfectly made, so as to be fit for consumption—the first, at the rate of 4*d.*, and the second, at the rate of 1*s.*¹ the gallon.

The tax was continued, after the Restoration, at the

¹ The charge on aqua vitæ or strong waters made or distilled, under the commonwealth, was 2*d.* per gallon.

rates of 4*d.* and 8*d.*, and brandy, or burnt wine, which is first mentioned in our statute book in the Act of Navigation of Charles II., and which, at this date, came exclusively from France, was allowed by the officers of the customs to pass under the 4*d.* charge, until November, 1666, when, impressed with the great improvement they had noticed in this ‘certain liquor imported from beyond seas called brandy,’ they insisted that it should be charged at the higher rate of 8*d.* as a strong water perfectly made. The importers declined to pay the higher rate; and the question was only settled, in 1670, by an enactment that the said liquor called brandy was and should be chargeable as a strong water perfectly made, and not as a spirit made of wine or cider.¹

No good purpose would be served by following in detail every step in the taxation of brandy after the Revolution. The proceedings of the legislature are easily resolved into a course of prohibition, sometimes absolute, sometimes effective by reason of the excessive duties imposed, taken and pursued in the interest of our agriculturists, whose corn was consumed in the rapidly increasing business of a home distillery, and as part of that war of the tariffs which had commenced between England and France.²

An excessive addition, made in 1696, of 30*l.* the tun for single, and 60*l.* the tun for double French brandy, that is, brandy above proof,³ had the effect of diverting the course of trade, and henceforth French brandies reached us, by a roundabout route through the

¹ 22 Car. II. c. 4.

² 1 Will. & Mar. Sess. 1, c. 34; 4 & 5, c. 5; 5 & 6 c. 2.

³ 7 & 8 Will. III. c. 20, s. 4.

Flemish ports, under the name of German or Flemish brandies. The direct supply was in the hands of the smuggler.

The high price attained by French brandy under these circumstances placed that spirit beyond the reach of the lower classes. Our manufacturers, therefore, now invented for them a cheap spirit, in imitation of the Dutch geneva, made from corn spirit mixed with juniper berries, and when 'gin' was suppressed by the Act of 1727, another sort of spirit, termed Parliament brandy, in derision of the Act. One of the chief ingredients in this new spirit was French brandy of a common sort, and, when the Act against geneva was repealed in 1733, in order to secure the vested interests of the manufacturers of the new brandy, improve the manufacture, and prevent an immediate recurrence to the manufacture of gin in the old form, the duties imposed in 1696 were repealed, and duties were substituted of 1s. the gallon for single brandy, and 2s. for double brandy.

This measure ruined the Dunkirk trade in French, under the name of German or Flemish, brandy. It was hoped that the extensive smuggling that prevailed would be mitigated by heavy penalties, which were now imposed upon customhouse officers for neglect of duty in preventing the running of brandy.¹ But this and other attempts to suppress smuggling proved ineffective in view of the excessive duties which still fostered the trade; and, after half a century of successful contraband, the smuggling import for 1786 was calculated by

¹ 6 Geo. II. c. 17.

Pitt at about 4,000,000 tuns, as against a legal import of 700,000 tuns.

In this year, Pitt took off half the duty, reducing it to 5s.¹ the wine gallon, for single brandy, 2s. lower than the standard of the treaty recently negotiated with France. This had the effect of increasing the yield to an average of over half a million for the four years 1789-92, an amount which includes the produce of the additional duties imposed, in 1791, for the Nootka Sound armament; and at the commencement of the Great War, the yield was nearly half a million.

As may be expected, this tax was considerably increased in the war. On an average for four years to 1807, the annual import of brandy and geneva for home consumption was 1,820,000 gallons. The duty was then 14s. the wine gallon, and the average yield 1,370,000*l.* In 1812 the duty was raised to 20s. 7*d.*; in 1813 to 20s. 11*d.*; and in 1814 it was fixed at 18s. 10*d.* the wine gallon.

At this rate, equivalent to 22s. 6*d.* the imperial gallon, the yield was, in 1815, about 950,000*l.*

For the four years following 1814, the average annual import of brandy and geneva for home consumption was 742,000 gallons (imperial measure), and the revenue 825,000*l.* So that the revenue was less from a duty of 18s. 10*d.*, by 545,000*l.* a year, than it was from a duty of 14s. a gallon; and though in subsequent years the yield increased, it in no year amounted to what it was in 1806.²

¹ 9*d.* customs, and 4s. 3*d.* excise; 27 Geo. III. c. 13.

² Parnell, Fin. Ref. 4th ed. p. 37.

The duties, slightly raised by an addition to the customs in 1819, were, in 1825, made wholly duties of customs, instead of duties partly customs and partly excise, and were reimposed in Huskisson's tariff at 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* the imperial gallon, which was increased, in 1840, by Baring's additional 4*d.* the gallon.

‘The effect of the duty at this rate was to convert a trade that might otherwise have been productive of the most advantageous results, into a most prolific source of crime and demoralisation. The temptation to smuggle, occasioned by the exorbitancy of the duty, was too overpowering to be counteracted by the utmost penalties of the law. All along the coasts of Kent and Sussex, and the districts most favourably situated for running spirits, almost the whole of the labouring population were every now and then withdrawn from their ordinary employments to engage in smuggling adventures. The efforts of the revenue officers to seize foreign brandy and geneva were in innumerable instances repelled by force. Bloody and desperate contests in consequence took place. Many individuals who, but for this fiscal scourge, would have been industrious and virtuous, became idle, predatory and ferocious; they learned to despise the law and to execute summary vengeance on its officers, and were influenced by a spirit that had been, and might be, turned to the most dangerous purposes.’¹

¹ McCulloch, Comm. Dict. The picture was the same in France; see Béranger's ‘Les Contrebandiers’ :—

‘Malheur ! malheur aux commis !
A nous bonheur et richesse,
Le peuple à nous s'intéresse,
Il est de nos amis.’

This excessive taxation of foreign spirits was long maintained by the influence in the house of commons of the West India planters, who desired to exclude brandy and geneva from the English market, and to extend the consumption of their rum; but, in 1846, Goulburn, Peel's chancellor of the exchequer, reduced the duty of 22*s.* 10*d.* to 15*s.* the gallon.¹

In 1860, Gladstone completed, in connection with the Napoleon-Cobden treaty with France, the operation of equalising, in effect, the duties on foreign, colonial, and British spirits; and the duty was imposed at the rate of 10*s.* 5*d.* the gallon, the equivalent to 10*s.* on the distillery, including the additional 2*s.* for the China war.²

The imports of brandy vary considerably in different years, in some degree by reference to the wine crop of the year; and the import for 1859 had been abnormally high. Such an unnatural rise is generally followed by a corresponding depression; and the yield for 1860 was no fair index of the result of the reduction of the duty.³ In 1863, the net yield was 997,121*l.*, showing an increase of 112,470*l.* on that for 1862; in the next year, there was an increase of over 200,000*l.*; and the yield entered the extraordinary period of fiscal prosperity which commenced with 1864, at the figure of 1,204,505*l.*

In ten years it rose from that figure to 2,241,650*l.*, for 1874; and in 1876 was 2,338,844*l.* Then followed the years of the lean kine, and under the effect of the general depression the yield fell, in 1880, to 1,690,579*l.* In 1882-3 it was 1,532,000*l.*

¹ 8 & 9 Vict. c. 90, s. 4 and Table A; 9 & 10, c. 23.

² 23 & 24 Vict. c. 110.

³ See Customs Reports, v. p. 13.

Geneva and other unenumerated spirits.

Before 1860, the high duties charged on geneva operated almost as a prohibition. The reduction of the duty in that year gave an extraordinary stimulus to the importation: the import was quadrupled. But geneva failed to suit the British taste, and in 1861 fell back to its original position as an article of import, the yield being in that year 52,515*l.* and in 1862, 49,354*l.* The heading '*geneva and other sorts,*' viz. spirits not brandy, rum or geneva, first appears in the Customs Report for 1864,¹ where the yield for 1862 is given as 95,755*l.*, an amount which, after a deduction of 49,354*l.* for geneva, leaves 46,401*l.* for the other unenumerated sorts; and the yield under this comprehensive heading was, for 1863, 130,212*l.* After 1864, it rapidly increased; and after an increase of 30 per cent. in 1873, and an increase of 428,904*l.* in 1875 as compared with the year 1874, reached, in 1876, 1,064,123*l.*

In this year the importation diminished by about 14 per cent. Of the total import of 2,650,000 gallons, 326,000 only consisted of geneva, the bulk consisting of German spirit made from potatoes and other roots. 'The failure in the crops caused an increase in the price of the spirit, and consequently it was not purchased by the English dealers as freely as in 1875, when the price of the article was low enough to attract their attention and to divert the trade, for the greater part of the year, from the home to the continental market.'²

¹ 8th Report.² Customs Reports, xxi. 37.

Henceforth the import diminished in a remarkable manner, falling from an import of 1,742,000 gallons in 1876, by steps of 310,000, 68,000, 430,000, and 554,000, to 380,000 for 'unenumerated spirit' in 1880; a decline, when the imports for the two years 1876 and 1880 are compared, of 1,362,000 gallons or 78·1 per cent.

This decrease was mainly due to the comparatively high price of the article in the foreign market: English grain-made spirit could be purchased at a lower rate than, and therefore took the place of, continental spirit in the market. The amount of customs revenue represented by this diminution was 707,953*l*.¹ The import, in 1881, was 345,913 gallons, and, in 1882, about 100,000 gallons more than for 1881. The importation varies with the relative prices of grain in this country and of potatoes and roots on the continent.

(c) THE TAX ON RUM.

Rum a favourite drink with sailors. It was early used for making punch. A warehousing system established for rum in 1742. Rum, as a colonial spirit, is protected against brandy and geneva by discriminating duties. Additional duties imposed, in 1791, for the Nootka Sound armament. Increase of the duties in the Great War. Decrease in the consumption caused by excessive taxation. Reduction of the duty by Robinson in 1824 and 1825. Success of the measure. The duties raised to, practically, the same as home-made spirits in 1860. The subsequent yield. An episode in the history of the tax.

A considerable importation of rum from our sugar colonies in the West Indies was established before the Revolution. A rich warming spirit for those with 'cold stomachs,' to use Burleigh's term, it was

considered particularly effective as a remedy for colds and an antidote to the effects of our damp atmosphere. Rum and eggs, an early form of what in America they term a 'pick-me-up,' was administered as such to the poor draggled duke of Monmouth, at Romsey, on his way to London from the wet ditch in which he was found hiding after the failure of the rebellion in the west.¹

This spirit has ever been a special favourite with our sailors, familiar with the taste of it from the levy of a toll in kind from the rum-puncheons, in transitu. The mariner '*lui-même et sans suppôt sur chaque muid levait un pot d'impôt,*' a process termed by him 'sucking the monkey;' and therefore it is the favourite spirit of Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, who prefers it to arrack, or rack, the rival East Indian spirit.

Forming the basis of the newly invented punch of the Monteith punch-bowl period, rum, or 'Jamaica' as it was termed, was limited, in consequence of the high price, to a well-to-do class of consumers. Therefore, when Jekyll's Bill against spirituous liquors was brought into the House in 1736, expressly to suppress drunkenness and disorder among the lower class of people, the merchants of Bristol and Liverpool, the western ports most interested in the trade to the West Indies, presented petitions praying that rum might be excluded from the condemnation of spirits. It was not, in fact, a cause of drunkenness and disorder among the lower class. 'They don't drink rum,' it was urged. But notwithstanding these representations, rum was included in the Act, and remained subject to

¹ Roberts, Southern Counties, p. 446.

a partial interdict until the repeal of the Act by the Wilmington administration in 1742.

In this year a warehousing system was established for rum, under which the importer, in lieu of paying the duty before landing his casks, was allowed to land and warehouse them, under crown locks, in a warehouse provided at his own charge and approved by the commissioners of excise, giving security by bond for payment of the duty when the rum was taken out for home consumption, or at the end of six months¹—a system which Adam Smith subsequently suggested, in the ‘Wealth of Nations,’ it would be advisable to extend to other articles, on importation.

In consequence of the influence of the West Indian planters in the house of commons, and in accordance with the principles of the commercial or protective system, rum, as a colonial spirit, was protected against its rivals, foreign brandy and geneva, by what are termed discriminating duties in its favour. Even in 1787, after Pitt had reduced the duty on brandy by a moiety, there remained a difference of 1s. the gallon in favour of rum, the duty on which was imposed, in the consolidation Act of that year, at 4s. the wine gallon, viz. 5*d.* as customs and 3s. 7*d.* as excise, as against 5s. for brandy.

But though the colonial spirit was never taxed so highly as foreign spirits, additional duties imposed, in 1791, for the Nootka Sound armament, and afterwards continued, formed the first in a series of additions to this tax, in the Great War, which raised it to rates so

¹ 15 Geo. II. c. 25.

excessive as subsequently to have the effect of causing a diminution in the consumption; in 1803 it had been 3,150,000 gallons; but in 1823, notwithstanding the increase in the population, it was only 2,300,000 gallons.

At this date, the duty in Great Britain, still charged by reference to the wine gallon, was equivalent to 13s. 11½*d.* the imperial gallon; in the next year Robinson reduced it to 12s. 7½*d.*, at an estimated loss of 150,000*l.* of revenue; and in the next, to 8s. 6*d.*, at a further estimated loss of much larger amount. At this rate, the duty was imposed, by reference to the imperial gallon, in the tariff of 1825, to commence from July 5, 1826, the duty being now wholly a duty of customs.¹

The enormous increase in the consumption consequent upon these reductions falsified the estimate of loss. The consumption rose from two millions and a half to three millions and a half of gallons, and the yield now became about 1,500,000*l.*

In 1830, when Goulburn imposed an additional 6*d.* the gallon on the distillery, an addition of the same amount was made to this duty,² which slightly raised the annual yield.

In July, 1860, when an additional 2s. was imposed, by Gladstone, upon home-made spirits, for the expenses of the China War, making the duty 10s. the gallon, the duty on rum was raised to an equivalent rate, viz. 10s. 2*d.* the gallon, a rate which has since remained unaltered.³ The yield, which had been 1,459,000*l.* in

¹ 6 Geo. IV. c. 111.

² 11 Geo. IV. & 1 Will. IV. c. 48.

³ 23 & 24 Vict. c. 110; and see the Tariff Act of 1876.

1859, was in 1861, 1,754,000*l.*, and in 1862 reached 1,687,000*l.* In 1867 it had further increased to 2,191,000*l.*, and in 1876 it was 2,500,000*l.*

After this the yield decreased, in 1879, to 2,465,000*l.*, and, in 1880, to 2,357,000*l.* In 1882-3, it was 2,262,000*l.*

A curious episode in the history of this tax is noted by McCulloch. The difference in the duties for Great Britain and Ireland in favour of Ireland, which existed from the commencement of the century to 1813, when it was practically abolished by a rise in the duty for Ireland, had, there was good reason to think, fostered smuggling from that part of the kingdom; but in 1847, this injurious difference in favour of Ireland was restored in order to compensate the Jamaica planters without appearing to do so. The planters had been ruined in consequence of the abolition of the slave trade in 1834, and their case was allowed to present certain features of injustice of which they were the victims. They were now partially recompensed by the practical re-establishment of a smuggling trade from Ireland, effected by an assimilation of the duties on rum imported into the different parts of the kingdom to the duties on home-made spirits, which were lower for Scotland and Ireland than for England, for reasons viz. the greater facilities for illicit distillation in the wilder parts of the country, which were wholly inapplicable to the colonial spirit. This step was reversed as regards Scotland in 1855, and as regards Ireland, in 1858, when the duty was again equalised throughout the United Kingdom.

SECTION II.

THE TAXES ON RETAILERS OF SPIRITS AND
SPIRIT MERCHANTS.*Early History of these Taxes.*

The crown patentees for the sale of spirits from malted corn. The patents are cancelled and the trade is thrown open. Justices' licenses required for the sale of spirits, to be consumed on the premises, in 1701. The Act against geneva, 1729. A tax imposed upon retailers of compounded spirits. The sale of spirits except in houses prohibited. All retailers required to be licensed by the justices, at a general annual licensing meeting. Repeal of the Act against geneva, in 1733. Jekyll's Act against spirituous liquors, in 1736. Enormous tax on retailers. The Act repealed in 1743. New licenses for retailers ; who are required also to be licensed by the justices. The yield in 1744. A separate license allowed for distillers within the bills of mortality in 1747 is abolished in 1751. The retail of spirits by distillers prohibited. The duty on a license increased to 2*l*.

No license was required for the sale of aqua vitæ and 'strong waters,' as spirits were at first termed in England, while they continued to be used as medicines rather than as beverages and were principally sold by apothecaries and chemists. Nor, under the commonwealth, when strong waters, having passed into the list of beverages, were charged with an excise as drinks, and the distillers and retailers were subjected to the survey of the excise officers in order to secure the excise, was any such license required.

Towards the close of the Stuart period, when a home manufacture of spirits from malted corn was first

established, the patentees of the crown held, for a short time, a monopoly of the manufacture and sale of this new sort of spirit. But on the commencement of the war with France, when French brandies were excluded from our market, these patents were cancelled, and the trade was thrown open, with permission to all persons to manufacture, 'for sale or to be retailed, any spirits made from malted corn.'

The first restriction on the free sale of spirits, in the form of a requirement that the sellers should be licensed, was imposed, for purposes of police and morality, in 1701; when all persons selling brandy or other distilled spirits for consumption on the premises were required to be licensed for the purpose by the justices, in the same manner as keepers of alehouses.¹ But this restriction proved injurious to a number of manufacturers of spirit who had recently commenced business and had at considerable expense set up works for the purpose, and, through them, to the agricultural interest, inasmuch as in the new distillery 'great quantities of the worst sort of malted corn not useful to brewers' had been consumed. Therefore, in the following year, distillers and all other shopkeepers dealing principally in goods and merchandise other than brandy and strong waters, were allowed to sell spirits by retail without a license, provided they did not permit tippling in their houses.²

After the discovery, by our manufacturers, of the art of compounding spirits with juniper berries in imitation of the Dutch geneva, in such a manner as

¹ 12 & 13 Will. III. c. 11, s. 18.

² 1 Anne, stat. 2, c. 14.

exactly to hit off the taste of the lower classes, the consumption of gin, which could be produced at a low price, continued to increase day by day, until 1729, when the Act against geneva was passed. This Act charged the new compounded spirit with a heavy duty; placed all distillers of *compounded spirits*, compound distillers or 'compounders,' as they were termed, under excise supervision; imposed the **FIRST TAX ON RETAILERS OF SPIRITS**, by compelling every retailer of geneva or any other compound waters selling less than a gallon at a time, to take out an annual license costing 20*l.*; and totally prohibited the hawking of spirits of any sort about the streets, and the sale thereof in any place except the dwelling-house of the person selling.¹

By another Act of the same year, all retailers of spirits, of any sort, if selling to be consumed on the premises, were again required to be licensed by the justices in the same manner as keepers of alehouses. And henceforth licenses for alehouses and for retailing spirits were to be granted at a general annual licensing meeting of the justices acting in the division where the applicant resided, to be held within the first twenty days of September, or at some general sessions, in order that the justices might be truly informed as to the occasion or want of such houses, and the character of the applicants for licenses.²

¹ 2 Geo. II. c. 17. An exemption for physicians, apothecaries, surgeons, and chemists, allowed them to use, without a license, spirits in the preparation or making up of medicines 'for sick, lame, or distempered persons only.'

² 2 Geo. II. c. 28, ss. 11, 12. The Act did not alter the practice for any city or town corporate. See s. 12.

The Act against geneva, though it partially suppressed gin-drinking, brought into existence another form of cheap intoxicant, termed 'Parliament brandy,' which was perhaps more detrimental to health than gin, while it was manufactured from foreign brandy, in lieu of the home-grown barley which was used for gin. The Act against geneva was therefore repealed in 1733, as 'not having answered the good purpose thereby intended, and having proved a discouragement to the distillers of spirit from corn.'¹

The people at once returned to their original favourite; and drunkenness increased to such a degree as to induce the legislature, at the instance of a private member, sir Joseph Jekyll, to make, in 1736, a second attempt to suppress this evil, by means of a comprehensive 'Act against Spirituous Liquors' of all sorts, including 'brandy, rum, arrack, usquebaugh, geneva, aqua vitae, and all other spirituous liquors or strong waters.' The sale of spirits in *any quantity less than two gallons* was now declared to be a *retail* sale; and every retailer was required to take out an annual license, costing 50l.²

This Act was explained and enforced by Acts passed in 1737 and 1738, which, in the spirit of the old vagrant Acts, added the penalty of whipping to that of imprisonment, for hawking spirits. A practice of selling spirits by 'persons unseen, but hid behind some wainscot, curtain, partition, or otherwise concealed,' so that the offenders could not be discovered and brought to justice, was met by a provision that the

¹ 6 Geo. II. c. 17.

² 9 Geo. II. c. 23.

occupier of any house or building in which spirits were sold contrary to the Act in this clandestine manner, should be deemed the retailer of the spirits, and be liable, as such, to a penalty of 100*l.* for selling without license. While other provisions were added to punish offenders against the Act and assaults on informers.¹

The failure of these measures to suppress spirit-drinking, mainly in consequence of their stringency, led, in 1743, to the repeal of the Act against spirituous liquors and the introduction of a new system of moderate license duties and magisterial regulation. Every retailer of spirits was required to take out an annual license, costing 1*l.*, which the Excise were to grant to none but the keeper of a tavern, victualling-house, inn, coffee-house, or alehouse; and this license, when obtained, was useless unless or until the licensed person had obtained a justices' license to sell ale or spirituous liquors. Retailing was defined to be selling for consumption on the premises, or in less quantities than one pint to be consumed away from the premises;² but this quantity was raised in the next year from a pint to two gallons, as before, while the license was declared void should the person licensed take up the trade of a distiller, grocer or chandler, or keep a brandy shop or shop for the sale of any spirituous liquor.³

In 1744, the new license duties in England pro-

¹ 10 Geo. II. c. 17; 11, c. 26.

² 16 Geo. II. c. 8. The same exemption as formerly was allowed for physicians, apothecaries, surgeons, and chemists.

³ 17 Geo. II. c. 17.

duced 22,821*l.*, from the same number of licensed retailers of spirits.

The restrictions and penalties in the Acts of 1743 and 1744 were found to be inconvenient so far as they related to ‘honest reputable distillers;’ and in 1747 a new license, costing 5*l.*, was created for distillers within the bills of mortality paying a certain amount to church and poor, which enabled them to sell in small quantities, without any justices’ license, spirits not to be consumed on the premises.¹ The free grant of these licenses to distillers, real or simulated, for it was impossible to draw a line—598 were obtained in 1748, and 573 in 1749, the tippling that took place in their shops, and a considerable unlicensed sale of spirits which prevailed at the time, combined to effect a continuance of the increase in ‘the immoderate drinking of distilled spirituous liquors by persons of the meanest sort.’ And, in 1751, the legislature again interfered; increased the duty on spirits; abolished the distillers’ separate license; absolutely prohibited any distiller from holding any license to retail spirits; and raised the price of a license to retail spirits from 1*l.* to 2*l.*²

Licenses to Publicans, 1752–1880.

Yield of the licenses to retail spirits in 1752 and 1754. The duties increased in the war of American Independence. Pitt introduces a scale of charge in 1787. The yield in 1792. The duties raised, by Vansittart, in 1816. The yield in 1816. The Excise Licenses Consolidation Act, 1825. Additional duties imposed by Althorp in 1834; repealed in 1836. Baring’s 5 per cent. additional. The yield in

¹ 20 Geo. II. c. 30.

² 24 Geo. II. c. 40.

1842, 1852, 1869, and 1880. Increase in the tax by Gladstone in 1880. A new license created for retailers in the United Kingdom, to cover the sale of all sorts of alcoholic liquor. The yield in 1882.

In 1754, 26,129 licensed victuallers took out licenses to retail spirits, a decrease in number of 5,125 as compared with 1752, but yielding a revenue of 52,258*l.* as against 31,254*l.*

The three 5 per cent. increases in the excise duties granted in 1779, 1781, and 1782,¹ for the expenses of the war of American Independence, raised the duty from 2*l.* to 2*l.* 6*s.*; and in 1786, 36,029 licenses were taken out.

In 1787, Pitt laid additional duties on the licenses, which he now charged, by means of an ascending scale ending with a maximum charge, according to the annual value of the public-house, as rated for the house duty. Including the fixed charge of 2*l.* 6*s.*, the duties were now as follows: for houses—

				£	s.	d.
Under 15 <i>l.</i>	.	.	.	4	14	0
15 <i>l.</i> and under 20 <i>l.</i>	.	.	.	5	2	0
20 <i>l.</i> „ „ 25 <i>l.</i>	.	.	.	5	10	0
25 <i>l.</i> „ „ 30 <i>l.</i>	.	.	.	5	18	0
30 <i>l.</i> „ „ 40 <i>l.</i>	.	.	.	6	6	0
40 <i>l.</i> „ „ 50 <i>l.</i>	.	.	.	6	14	0
50 <i>l.</i> and upwards	.	.	.	7	2	0

A license was available for two or more partners, but only for the single set of premises for which it was granted.²

In 1789 the number of licenses in England was 33,349, and the produce 163,408*l.*

In 1815 the duties were raised, by Vansittart, as follows: for houses—

¹ 19 Geo. III. c. 25; 21 Geo. III. c. 17; and 22 Geo. III. 66.

² 27 Geo. III. c. 30.

				£	s.	d.
Under 15l.	.	.	.	7	1	0
15l. and under 20l.	.	.	.	7	13	0
20l. „ „ 25l.	.	.	.	8	5	0
25l. „ „ 30l.	.	.	.	8	17	0
30l. „ „ 40l.	.	.	.	9	9	0
40l. „ „ 50l.	.	.	.	10	1	0
50l. and upwards	.	.	.	10	13	0

But in the following year the first two items of charge were lowered to 5l. 5s. and 6l. 6s.¹

In 1816 the number of licenses granted in England was 35,378, producing a revenue of 282,366l.

In 1824 certain reductions were made in the duties, by Robinson, and in 1825 they were reimposed throughout the United Kingdom, in the Excise Licenses Consolidation Act² as follows: for houses—

				£	s.	d.
Under 10l.	.	.	.	2	2	0
10l. and under 20l.	.	.	.	4	4	0
20l. „ „ 25l.	.	.	.	6	6	0
25l. and under 30l.	.	.	.	7	7	0
30l. „ „ 40l.	.	.	.	8	8	0
40l. „ „ 50l.	.	.	.	9	9	0
50l. and upwards	.	.	.	10	10	0

The licenses were only to be granted to licensed victuallers holding an excise license to retail beer, and should the justices' license be rendered void by the conviction of the victualler in any offence, the excise licenses were involved in the loss.

In 1834 Althorp increased the duties by nearly fifty per cent.³ The tax, thus increased, pressed hard upon publicans in small business and gave rise to so many complaints that, in the following year, Spring-Rice obtained

¹ 55 Geo. III. c. 30; 56, c. 113.

² 6 Geo. IV. c. 81.

³ 4 & 5 Will. IV. c. 75.

an exemption for all retailers of spirits not receiving or consuming more than fifty gallons in the year.¹ But the additional duties still gave rise to numerous complaints, and accordingly were repealed in 1836.²

Baring's 5 per cent. of 1840 on the excise duties spoiled that symmetry of charge which had been introduced in 1825.³

In 1842, 52,936 licenses granted in England produced over 286,164*l.*; 15,003 for Scotland, 50,232*l.*; and 12,339 for Ireland, with 465 for grocers selling spirits under special licenses, 46,312*l.*; forming in all, for the United Kingdom, a total of 80,743 licenses, producing 382,708*l.*

In 1852 the number of publicans' licenses was 86,300, and the produce, together with that of 192 grocers' spirit licenses in Ireland, 425,711*l.* A gradual increase brought the number up to 96,006 in 1869, producing, with 434 licenses to grocers, 636,534*l.*

The duties continued to be charged at the rates imposed in 1825⁴ until 1880; and in that year the yield was 721,407*l.*, from 97,291 licenses.

Publicans' Licenses for the Sale of Spirits, Wine, Beer, and other liquors. 1880-3.

In 1880, as part of the scheme for the supplementary Budget opened in June, Gladstone proposed to increase and otherwise alter and readjust the retail licenses for the sale of alcoholic liquor. The charges on the licenses for the retail of spirits were, in his

¹ 5 & 6 Will. IV. c. 39.

² 6 & 7 Will. IV. c. 72, s. 9.

³ 3 & 4 Vict. c. 17.

⁴ With Baring's 5 per cent. from 1840.

In this view, and in order to simplify the licenses, and give greater uniformity as between countries, he created a **NEW LICENSE FOR RETAILERS OF SPIRITS** throughout the United Kingdom, to cover the sale of all sorts of alcoholic liquor—spirits, wine, sweets, beer, cider and perry; and this license eventually was charged with duty on the following scale :—

When the annual value of the house and premises					£	s.	d.
licensed is under £10					4	10	0
Is £10 and under £15					6	0	0
15	„	20	.	.	8	0	0
20	„	25	.	.	11	0	0
25	„	30	.	.	14	0	0
30	„	40	.	.	17	0	0
40	„	50	.	.	20	0	0
50	„	100	.	.	25	0	0
100	„	200	.	.	30	0	0
200	„	300	.	.	35	0	0
300	„	400	.	.	40	0	0
400	„	500	.	.	45	0	0
500	„	600	.	.	50	0	0
600	„	700	.	.	55	0	0
700 or above					60	0	0

Particular provisions were made for—HOTELS, for which, under certain conditions, the license was not to cost more than 20*l.*; RESTORATEURS or eating-house keepers not keeping an open bar, who were not to be charged more than 30*l.*; THÉÂTRES, for which a license was not to cost more than 20*l.*, and PASSENGER VESSELS, for which a license costing only 5*l.* was provided.

The effect of the plan as originally proposed, with regard to all the licenses involved, would be, as the chancellor of the exchequer said, to bring in 305,000*l.* in the first year, and 350,000*l.* in future years. In 1882 the duties on the new licenses produced about 1,442,462*l.* from 92,493 licenses.

Licenses to Spirit Merchants, to sell for consumption off the premises.

The tax imposed by Pitt in 1784. The duty doubled in 1815. The dealers' additional license to retail liqueurs, 1848. Gladstone's additional license for dealers, to retail spirits, 1861.

A duty was first imposed upon spirit merchants (not retailers) in Great Britain, in 1784, by Pitt. It formed part of a general plan for the taxation of all traders in articles subject to an excise; and this duty, which was 5*l.* for an annual license, was doubled, by Vansittart, in 1815, just before the end of the war with France. In 1825 the duty was made uniform throughout the United Kingdom, and in 1840, was raised to 10*l.* 10*s.* by Baring's five per cent. In 1842 about 3,500 persons took out licenses in the United Kingdom.

In 1848 a peculiar license was created for the

retail of foreign liqueurs. Any person holding a license to deal in spirits was allowed to obtain from the excise a license costing 2*l.* 2*s.*, which would enable him to sell, without any justices' license, any foreign liqueurs in any quantity not less than that contained in a reputed quart bottle at a time, and even in a less quantity, should the bottles in which the liqueur had been imported not be of that capacity, viz., in such bottles irrespective of size and capacity.¹

The license to spirit merchants was termed a dealer's license, 'dealer' meaning, in excise language, a person selling a certain statutory quantity at any one time—viz. two gallons or more; and, down to 1861, unless a householder wanted two gallons of spirits, he had no choice but to send his servant to the public-house for it. In this year, Gladstone introduced a new license, by means of which any licensed spirit-dealer might acquire the right of selling spirits in any quantity not less than a reputed quart bottle and foreign liqueurs in the manner above stated, on payment of 3*l.* 3*s.*, in addition to the 10*l.* 10*s.* for his wholesale license.² In the year ended March 31, 1883, 9,168 dealers' licenses were taken out, of which 8,066 were for England. 6,038 dealers held additional retail licenses; and the yield of the licenses in the whole was 117,890*l.*

¹ 11 & 12 Vict. c. 121, ss. 9, 10, and 11.

² 24 & 25 Vict. c. 21.

CHAPTER V.

THE TAXES ON CIDER AND PERRY.

Taxes on cider and perry under the Commonwealth excise; and the hereditary and temporary excises, after the Restoration. The Cider Land. Dashwood's cider tax in 1763; repealed in 1765. The landlady at Upton. The duty reduced in 1825. The tax repealed in 1830, with the tax on beer.

CIDER, the *ὑδρομήλον* of the Greeks, a drink made from the juice of apples, is a beverage of ancient repute in this country. It is termed by Withal, the wine of apples, and in 'Piers Plowman's Vision,' pomade. Chaucer mentions it in the 'Canterbury Tales': 'This Sampson never cider drank ne wine,'¹ and in Wicliffe's translation of the New Testament the passage in Luke, chapter 1, verse 15, is rendered, 'He schal not drynk wyn ne cider.' Harrison speaks of it, in his Description of Britain, as a well-known drink, and it is termed in Lambarde, 1596, pomage, a term which formerly was also applied to perry, the wine of the pear, but which, in 'Barat's Alvearie,' 1580, and in all subsequent dictionaries, is confined to a drink made from apples.

In taxation cider and perry have always been combined; and they never have been important contributors to the revenue. After having been taxed, on

¹ Monk's Tale, 1406.

sale, together with the other liquors then in use, under the commonwealth excise, these liquors were charged, under the Acts for the hereditary and the temporary excises granted to Charles II. after the Restoration, at the rate of 1s. 3d. for every hogshead sold by retail, and were subjected to additional duties by subsequent Acts.

They were also charged, under the annual Act for the malt duty, with an equivalent duty of 4s. for every hogshead made for sale.

The west and south-west of England were the parts of the kingdom in which cider and perry were chiefly made, and the cultivation of the apple in Herefordshire and Worcestershire for the purpose was considerably improved and extended by lord Scudamore, of Hom Lacy. For a time, indeed, the general consumption of these drinks was considerably increased in consequence of the exclusion of French wines after the Revolution in the war with France, but, as a rule, the Cider-Land glorified by Philips, the well-known author of 'The Splendid Shilling,' in 1706, was the only real habitat of the cider drinker. There a toast and cider were a very usual breakfast and supper among the people, but the beverage was never popular throughout England.

The revenue from this source was not of much importance. The tax is famous only from Dashwood's unfortunate extension of it, in 1763, to cider and perry made for consumption at home, which raised a commotion almost as great as that against Walpole's Excise Bill in 1733, drove Bute from office, and resulted in

the repeal of the tax, in 1765, by the Rockingham administration. A few years before this, Fielding, in his account, in 'Tom Jones,' of the landlady at Upton, who could turn Worcestershire perry into champagne, or sack, or white wine at will, indicated the use to which this beverage and cider, right Herefordshire, were put in those times of excessive taxation of wine: an enormous quantity was annually consumed in the fabrication of imitations of wine.¹

In 1825 Robinson reduced the duty from 30s. to 10s. the hogshead, at an estimated loss to the revenue of 20,000*l.*; and in 1828 the yield was 37,000*l.* In 1830 the tax was repealed, at the same time as that on beer, by the Wellington administration.

Licenses for the Sale of Cider and Perry.

No license is required for the sale of cider or perry in quantities of $4\frac{1}{2}$ gallons or more at a time.²

The license to retail—that is, sell any quantity less than $4\frac{1}{2}$ gallons at a time—costs 1*l.* 5s.,³ and is available for sales of liquor to be consumed on or off the premises.

The applicant for a license must have a justice's license authorising the grant of the revenue license.

¹ See ante, p. 89.

² Definition. 4 & 5 Will. IV. c. 85, s. 19.

³ 43 & 44 Vict. c. 20, s. 41.

PART II.

NON-ALCOHOLIC DRINKS.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TAX ON TEA.

A tax on tea in public-houses imposed in 1660. Repealed in 1689, and a tax imposed on imported tea in the leaf. The smuggling caused by the excessive taxation of tea. Walpole's warehousing system in 1723. Tea placed under the excise system of permit, account, and survey. Partial success of the measure. Pelham's reduction of duty in 1745. Its beneficial effects. Increase in the yield. The duties, again increased, lead to unsurpassed smuggling and adulteration. Pitt's famous Commutation Act of 1784. The 'burning and starving' Act. Triumph of the principle of low duties. The yield in 1793. Enormous increase in the duties in the Great War. The yield in 1815. Termination of the monopoly of the East India Company in 1834. Differential duties tried, and, in 1836, abandoned. Uniform duty of 2*s.* 1*d.* The average yield, 1833-7. The yield in 1842. Disraeli proposes, in 1853, to reduce the duty. Gladstone's measure of that year. The war with Russia. The duty raised in 1856 and reduced in 1857 to 1*s.* 5*d.* The duty reduced by Gladstone to 1*s.*, in 1863. Annual grant of the duty. Finality unknown in fiscal affairs. Reduction of the duty to 6*d.* in 1865. Subsequent yield of the tax.

ANY tea or tay, as it was pronounced, imported into England before the Restoration, was chargeable under a general heading in the tariff, for 'all articles not specifically charged.' But after the Restoration, an excise, of 8*d.* the gallon, was imposed upon the drink as made and sold at that date in the coffee-houses and public-houses.

The tax in this form proved inconvenient and expensive in the collection; while the existence of the East India Company's monopoly afforded special facilities for collecting a tax upon the tea in the leaf, on importation. Accordingly, in 1689, the excise on the drink was repealed, and in lieu thereof a duty of 5s. the pound was imposed upon 'all tea imported, to be collected at the custom-house;' ¹ but the tax was so excessive that hardly any tea was entered at the custom-house, and the duty had to be reduced, in 1692, to 1s. An additional 1s., imposed, in 1695, towards satisfaction of the debt for the transport service for the reduction of Ireland, raised the rate to 2s., for all tea 'regularly' imported, that is, from any place within the limits of the East India Company's charter. A higher and practically prohibitory rate existed for tea imported from Holland, our rival in the trade, or any other country not the place of its growth or usual shipping.²

Two additions, in the war of the Spanish Succession, 1s. in 1704, and 2s. in 1711, raised the rate, for all tea 'regularly imported,' to 5s.; while that for tea otherwise imported was 11s.³ In addition to these special duties, tea was subject to all the subsidies of customs, the old subsidy, the new subsidy, the one-third subsidy and the two-thirds subsidy—a subsidy being 5 per cent. on the value, and the additional impost.

¹ 1 & 2 Will. & Mar. st. 2, c. 6.

² 6 & 7 Will. III. c. 7, for three years, continued by 9 & 10, c. 14; 12 & 13, c. 11; 3 & 4 Anne, c. 4; 6, c. 22, and made perpetual by 7 Anne, c. 7, s. 26.

³ 10 Anne, c. 26, from June 16, 1712, made perpetual by 3 Geo. I. c. 7, s. 1.

This excessive taxation of tea at a time when the demand for the beverage was steadily increasing, encouraged the trade of the smuggler, whose operations were so extensive and so successful as to necessitate some strong measure of repression. In the hope of checking contraband, Walpole, in 1723, divided the tax into two separate duties, and introduced for tea a warehousing system similar to that in existence for pepper. All tea, on importation, was to be warehoused, and a duty of 14 per cent.¹ on its value was to be paid immediately. Subsequently an inland duty of 4s. the pound was payable, on taking the tea out of warehouse for home consumption.² In order to secure the tax the traders were placed under the excise system of permit, account and survey, of which the principal features were—that no tea could be removed from one place to another, by land or by water, in any quantity exceeding six pounds in weight, without an accompanying excise ticket of permission termed a ‘permit;’ and that every seller of and dealer in tea was required to keep, in one book, an account of all sales of tea in any quantity exceeding six pounds, and in another, an account of all sales of tea in any less quantity than six pounds; while the excise officers had general powers of inspection and survey of his stock.

This alteration in the system of taxing tea³ proved successful in increasing the legitimate trade and, consequently, the revenue, and checked, for a time, the increase of smuggling. But tea was now passing out of

¹ 13*l.* 18*s.* 7½*d.*

² 10 Geo. I. c. 10.

³ It took effect from June 24, 1724.

the list of mere fashionable luxuries and becoming an ordinary article of consumption in the middle classes. Walpole's measure scotched, but did not kill, the snake, and the operations of the smuggler of tea were noted as in continuance in the report of sir John Cope's committee on the subject of smuggling, presented to the House in June, 1732.¹

It was now clear that the excessive amount of the duty fostered the contraband trade, and in this view a reduction was effected, in 1745, by Pelham, in pursuance of the recommendations of a committee of the house of commons, as follows:—In lieu of 4s. the pound, on taking the tea out of warehouse for home consumption, only 1s. was charged; in addition to which, 25 per cent. on the gross price was charged on all tea sold at the sales of the East India Company, which were compulsorily public. At these sales, at this date, the price of tea was about 4s. the pound; so that the 25 per cent., amounting to another 1s. the pound, made the inland duty in the whole 2s. the pound.² No drawback was allowed for tea exported, but no inland duties were to be paid if the tea was exported to Ireland or to our plantations in America.³

The beneficial effects of this judicious reduction of duty were soon evident. From 1741 to 1745 the average annual amount of tea entered for home consumption had been 768,520 pounds, and the average revenue, 175,222*l*. In 1746 the entries of tea for consumption amounted to 1,800,000 pounds, which

¹ Coxe, Walpole, iii. 71, 72.

² 18 Geo. II. c. 26.

³ 21 Geo. II. c. 14.

was three times the amount entered in 1745 ; but, for the five years, 1746–50, the average amount entered was not less than 2,360,000 pounds, while the average revenue was 318,080*l*.¹

The expenses of the Seven Years' War were the cause of a reversal of the policy of the measure of 1745. In 1759 Legge, who had proposed to introduce a shop tax, was induced, subsequently, to abandon this project and substitute for it a proposal for a tax on sugar ; but this was thrown over by the influence of Beckford, and an additional subsidy, or 5 per cent. on the value, was imposed on most of the articles in the tariff, including tea. This occurred on the eve of the period when tea became for the first time an article of usual consumption among the rural population and the class of artificers in towns ; and during this period of increasing demand the duties were raised on several occasions, with the result that smuggling and adulteration, ever the twin offspring of excessive taxation, prevailed to an extent never surpassed in the history of taxation.

In 1784 Pitt, reverting to the principle of the measure of 1745, proposed a considerable reduction in the tax. It amounted, at this date, to 119 per cent., and the yield was about 700,000*l*. To reduce it to about 12½ per cent.,² involved, it was calculated, a loss of about 600,000*l*. a year ; and as so large a sum could not be spared, it was necessary to recoup the revenue by means of additional taxation. Accord-

¹ McCulloch, *Taxation*, p. 356.

² Customs, 5*l*. per cent., and the inland duty, 7*l*. 10*s*.

ingly the window tax was increased by an amount calculated to produce the 600,000*l.* required. This measure did not pass into law without considerable opposition, and was the cause of debates in the house of commons which were famous at that day. But the Commutation Act,¹ when it came into operation, surpassed, in its results, even the expectations of the most sanguine supporters of the measure, and established for the young minister, at the commencement of his career, a reputation for financial ability which had an important bearing upon his future success. The contraband carriers' trade from Galloway to Edinburgh was ruined by the Act, which was called in Galloway, by those who had thriven on the contraband, 'the burning and starving Act.' The yield of the tax at 12½ per cent. was not far short of half the yield at 119 per cent.; and in 1788, the consumption of duty-paid tea, which had been in 1784, 4,948,983 pounds, had risen to 13,218,665 pounds.

Such was the triumph of *the principle of low duties on articles of general consumption*, as applied to the article tea; a principle which sir Mathew Decker had strenuously advocated in 1743,² and which, having been adopted by Pelham, and subsequently lost sight of by his successors in office, was now re-established by Pitt.

In 1793 the yield was about 650,000*l.*

Under pressure of the expenses of the war with revolutionary France and Napoleon, we were compelled to abandon all principle in taxation and obtain

¹ 24 Geo. III. sess. 2, c. 38.

² *Serious Considerations on the present high Duties.*

revenue how best we could. In 1795, the duty was raised to 20 per cent. ; in 1797, to 30 per cent., for tea costing 2s. 6d. or more the pound ; and this rate was raised by 5 per cent. in 1798, another 5 per cent. in 1800, and 10 per cent. in 1801, to 50 per cent.

Pitt, in taxation, had spared the lower class of teas under 2s. 6d. the pound ; but when the war broke out again after the peace of Amiens, Addington imposed an additional 45 per cent. on the price of all teas, raising the rates for the two classes of tea to 95 and 65 per cent. There was another slight increase in 1805 ; and in 1806, after the death of Pitt, the tax was imposed, by the Coalition ministry, at the uniform rate of 96 per cent. on all teas.¹

The yield in 1815, for Great Britain was 3,591,350l.

The ad valorem principle, discarded in 1806, was, to a certain extent, reestablished in 1819 ; when tea costing 2s. or less the pound was charged at 96 per cent., and tea above 2s., at 100 per cent.²

In 1834, when the monopoly of the East India Company ceased, the management of the tax was transferred from the excise to the customs, and the tax was imposed by lord Althorp on a new principle, viz. in the form of *differential duties for various sorts of tea* :— For bohea, 1s. 6d. the pound. For congou, twankay, hyson skin, orange pekoe, and campoi, 2s. 2d. ; and for souchong, flowery pekoe, hyson, young hyson, gunpowder, imperial and other teas, 3s.³ From the duties in this form the chancellor of the exchequer expected

¹ 6 per cent. customs and 90 per cent. excise.

² 53 Geo. III. c. 53.

³ 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 101.

to derive an additional 600,000*l.* of revenue. But this refinement in taxation proved impracticable, and, in consequence of the difficulty in discriminating between the different sorts of tea, the duties imposed in 1834 were abandoned, and Spring Rice introduced, from July 1, 1836, a uniform rate of 2*s.* 1*d.* the pound for all sorts of tea.¹

The quantity of tea retained for home consumption was in 1833 over 31 millions of pounds; in 1834, nearly 35; in 1835, 36; in 1836, 49; and in 1837, 30 millions. The average yield for the five years being about 3,800,000*l.*

Increased by Baring's 5 per cent. in 1840, the tax yielded, in 1842, about 4,000,000*l.*

After the reform of the tariff by Peel and the release of most of our manufactures from the trammels of the excise, we were able, in consequence of the existence of the income tax and the increased yield of the other taxes, arising from the general prosperity of the nation, to turn our attention to the reduction of the duties on articles of general consumption. It was acknowledged that the duty on tea was extremely heavy as regards the low-priced teas—bohea and the lower congous—and should, therefore, be reduced. Accordingly a reduction formed part of Disraeli's financial plan for 1853, and also of that of Gladstone, his successor in office, who proposed to reduce the duty to 1*s.*, by four steps: from 2*s.* 2½*d.* to 1*s.* 10*d.* for the year ending April 5, 1854; from 1*s.* 10*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* for 1855; from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 3*d.* for 1856; after this the

¹ 5 & 6 Will. IV. c. 32.

duty was to be 1s., which was considered, at the time, to be the lowest possible point of reduction.

This process of reduction was interrupted by the war with Russia, and the duty was raised, in 1856, to 1s. 9d.; but in 1857 was reduced to 1s. 5d.,¹ at which rate it continued payable until 1863.

It was now recognised as a governing principle in finance that *taxes should be regarded as forming a system*, and that when any considerable increase was required, or any considerable reduction became possible, 'we should have a mixed and joint regard for the two great descriptions of taxation—the direct and the indirect.' Acting upon this principle, Gladstone, in 1863, having proposed a reduction of 2d. in the income tax, brought under the notice of the House the question of the reduction of the war duties on tea and sugar; and having first stated the reasons for dealing with the taxes one at a time, and that the subject of the drawbacks on sugar was then under consideration at Paris by representatives of the sugar-refining trades of several countries, for this and other reasons, selected for reduction the tea duty, rather than the sugar duty, observing that by the reduction we should excite a larger demand for sugar.

The duty was reduced to 1s. from April 25, 1863; and the financial results of the change were estimated as follows: in 1862–3 we consumed 77,500,000 pounds of tea, which paid a duty of 5,497,000*l.*; in 1863–4, had there been no change in the law, the estimate for consumption would have been 79,636,000

¹ 20 & 21 Vict. c. 61.

pounds, yielding a revenue of 5,640,000*l.* Allowing for an increased consumption, in consequence of the reduction of duty, there would be a net loss of 1,300,000*l.*

The duty was granted only until August 1, 1864, in revival of the old practice of voting some one important branch of the revenue only from year to year.¹ 'The committee,' Gladstone added, 'need not apprehend that the proposal thus to fix the duty upon tea only for a limited period would have a disturbing or unsettling effect; for it was thoroughly understood by the trade, and by the country, that when the duty should be reduced to 1*s.* the pound, the reduction would be, so far as we might presume to look forward into the future, a final measure.'²

But finality is a word inapplicable to taxation, and in 1865 the duty was reduced by Gladstone to 6*d.*, at an estimated loss of 2,300,000*l.* In 1866 the quantity of tea retained for home consumption was over 102 millions of pounds, and the yield, 2,550,000*l.* In 1867 the home consumption was over 111 millions of pounds, and the yield, 2,770,000*l.*

Henceforth increased consumption has rapidly tended to recoup the revenue for the loss caused by the reductions of 1863 and 1865. In 1879, the yield was about 4,000,000*l.*, and in 1881, the same amount. The number of pounds entered for home consumption was, in 1879, 160 millions; in 1880, 158 millions; and in 1881, 160 millions.

In the year 1882-3, the yield was 4,230,000*l.*

¹ The duty on tea has since this date been granted annually.

² Financial Statements, p. 384.

CHAPTER VII.

THE TAXES ON COFFEE AND CHICORY.

1. *Coffee.*

First use of coffee in Arabia, Egypt and Syria. Coffee is introduced into France by Thévenot. Mention of coffee in Evelyn's Diary, 1637. Coffee-houses opened in London. The coffee-houses rebuilt after the great fire, 1665. They are shut in 1675 for political reasons. Coffee plantations at Surinam and in the West Indies. Coffee becomes fashionable. The name of coffee-houses used for public-houses. The coffee-rooms in hotels and inns. The taxation of coffee, 1660 to 1784. The consumption checked by the excessive duties. Pitt reduces the duties. The yield in 1815. Reduction of the duties in 1824, 1842 and 1844. A uniform duty imposed on coffee from all countries in 1851. Reduction of the duty by Lowe in 1872. Subsequent yield of the tax.

FROM the existence of a coffee-room in almost every hotel or inn of any size in England, a person unfamiliar with our habits would be inclined to think that the use of coffee is much more extended than it really is. Coffee is only a drink of secondary importance in this country ; and three causes have combined to prevent its attaining rank among our usual beverages : the incompetence, want of attention and laziness of our servants in preparing the drink ; a belief that coffee is heating and more suited to a dry than a moist climate ; and the heavy taxation to which it was subjected in former years ; to which must be added, in late years, the cheapness and excellence of tea and white sugar.

The coffee plant, a native of the part of Arabia

called Yemen, derives its name from kahweh, an old Arabic term for wine, for which the drink made from an infusion of the berries was regarded as, to a certain extent, a substitute, when about the middle of the sixteenth century, it came first into use in Arabia, Egypt and Syria.¹ From this kahweh is derived the Turkish kahveh, the Italian caffè, and our coffee. Coffee is mentioned in the work of Prosper Albinus, a Venetian, 'de medicina Egyptorum,' published in 1591; and Burton, in his 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' speaks of the Turkish coffee-houses as resembling the taverns of his time.² Introduced into France by the famous traveller, Thévenot, coffee was subsequently brought into fashion, in the reign of Louis XIV., by Solomon Aga, ambassador of the Porte to the court of Versailles.

In England it is mentioned in Evelyn's Diary, May 10, 1637: 'There came in my time to the college Balliol, Oxford, one Nathaniel Conopios, out of Greece, from Cyrill, the patriarch of Constantinople, who returning many years after, was made, as I am directed, bishop of Smyrna. He was the first that ever I saw drink coffee, which custom came not into England till thirty years afterwards.' But before that time, viz. in 1652, a coffee-house had been opened in Newman's Court, Cornhill, by Pasqua, a Greek servant of Mr. Edwards, a Turkey merchant, and his example had been followed by others, so that at the date of the Restoration, coffee-houses were common in London and coffee was well-known as a beverage.

¹ Lane's Arabian Nights, Note 22 to Chap. III.

² Now, generally speaking, coffee is sold, in Turkish streets and not in houses for the purpose.

The use of coffee, on its first introduction into this country, was opposed, as it was in France, on the ground that it was a cause of sterility ; but the coffee-house soon established a reputation as a more respectable place of public resort than the tavern and the alehouse, and when Garraway's and the other earlier coffee-houses had perished in the great fire of 1665, they were soon rebuilt, notwithstanding 'The Women's Petition against Coffee,' on the ground previously stated,¹ and from the facilities they afforded for conversation, hearing the news of the day and reading the newspapers, became a prominent feature of our social existence.

Puritan in their origin, the coffee-houses formed centres in which opinions about government were freely expressed in the days of the Cabal, and subsequently. Shut up as nuisances under Charles II. and Danby, in 1675,² the year in which Charles became a pensioner to the French king, they were reopened, in the next year, on a petition of the traders.

Between 1680-90, the cultivation of the coffee plant near Batavia was begun by the Dutch, who obtained the seeds from Mocha ; and from a plant they sent from Java to Europe, the young plants were derived for the first coffee plantations at Surinam, in 1718, and in the West Indies.³

Coffee became a fashionable drink in England like 1712.
tea, and is mentioned by Pope as giving inspiration to the baron for the Rape of the Lock, in a passage where he narrates the whole process of preparing it : ' the

¹ 1674, Disraeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, ii. 324.

² As to the shutting up of the coffee-houses, see *Lives of the Norths*, i. 317-8 and notes.

³ McCulloch, *Comm. Dict.*

berries crackle and the mill goes round,' &c., showing the careful manner in which the drink was made. Its popularity continued to increase with those who 'to some coffee-house would stray for news, the manna of a day.' Public-houses for strong liquors were frequently called coffee-houses, using the name as a cloak of respectability. And in hotels and inns it became usual to sell coffee and keep newspapers for local customers, and to separate the COFFEE-ROOM from the commercial room, for the two classes of persons using the premises.

The course of the taxation of coffee followed the same lines as that of tea. Originally imposed, at the Restoration, on the drink, the duty was afterwards altered to a duty on the coffee berries on importation ; and a warehouse system was put in force by Walpole for both the articles in 1723. Subsequently the duty was increased to such an extent as seriously to affect the importation of coffee, and the consumption languished until the revenue from this source had declined to less than 3,000*l.* a year. In 1784, Pitt attempted to revive the consumption by a considerable reduction of duty. Repealing the existing excise duties, he substituted for them lower duties of customs, viz. 6*d.* the pound for coffee from our plantations in America, and 2*s.* 6*d.* for coffee from any other place, with the two 5 per cent. increases termed the imposts of 1779 and 1782.¹ The result of this reduction of duty was at once to increase the yield threefold. In the war, in 1795, Pitt increased the duties, and the result of this and several other additions to the tax made in the war

¹ 24 Geo. III. c. 38, s. 50.

was again to overtax the article. In 1808, the duties were reduced, from 1*s.* 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* to 7*d.* the pound for British plantation coffee, and from 2*s.* 1*d.* to 10*d.* for East India coffee. This raised the consumption of duty-paid coffee from something over a million of pounds to nine millions, and for a second time coffee showed an increase in the revenue consequent upon a reduction of duty.

In 1815, the yield was 276,700*l.*

A rise in the duties on coffee was included in the plan for additional taxation in 1819. Raised to 1*s.*, for plantation coffee; 1*s.* 6*d.*, for East India coffee; and 2*s.* 6*d.*, for that from other places, the duties were to produce, with increased duties for cocoa, an additional 130,000*l.* a year.

This policy was reversed in 1825, when Robinson reduced the duties by a moiety at an estimated loss, for this reduction and a reduction for cocoa, of 150,000*l.* of revenue; and within ten years from this, the reduction of the duty, the low price of coffee, and a considerable fall in the price of the low brown sugar used in coffee, combined to effect an increase in the consumption from 8 millions and a quarter to 23 millions and a quarter of pounds.¹ The yield which, in 1824, the year before the reduction, had been 420,000*l.*, increased in 1835 to 652,000*l.*

The decrease in the import of coffee from the West Indies, after the emancipation of the slaves in 1834, practically necessitated the reduction of the rate for coffee from the East Indies and Ceylon, to that for West Indian coffee, which was effected in 1835. This

¹ McCulloch, Comm. Dict.

was followed by a reduction of the duties by Peel, in 1842, on his first revision of the tariff, and a further reduction for foreign coffee in 1844. And at last in 1851, the difference in the duties for coffee from British possessions and coffee from other countries was abolished, by sir Charles Wood, and a uniform duty was imposed for coffee of all countries at 3*d.* the pound,¹ with a charge of 6*d.* the pound for coffee kiln-dried, roasted, or ground. This reduction of duty was effected at an estimated loss of 176,000*l.* of revenue.

In 1855 the duty was raised to 4*d.* for the war with Russia, at the same time as the duties on tea and sugar, but after the war was reduced in 1857 to 3*d.*

The yield in 1871 was 382,702*l.*; but the consumption had not increased *pari passu* with the population, and in 1872 Lowe, in the hope of increasing the consumption, reduced the duties, for coffee, to 14*s.* the cwt.; and for kiln-dried, roasted, or ground coffee, to 2*d.* the pound, at an estimated loss of 190,000*l.*, which, added to the expected loss from chicory, the duty on which was reduced at the same time, made 230,000*l.*

The loss was, however, only 140,000*l.* in the year, and in 1879, the yield was 213,460*l.*

In the next year there was a decrease of 14,124*l.* in the yield.

The declared values of the coffee imported, exported and retained in the United Kingdom for consumption in 1881 were:—4,761,369*l.*, 4,081,045*l.*, and 680,324*l.*, the last being unusually low. In 1882–3 the yield was 202,600*l.*

¹ 14 & 15 Vict. c. 62.

2. *Chicory.*

Chicory first imported into this country, to mix with coffee, shortly before 1833. A duty imposed on imported chicory. Cultivation of chicory in England. A tax imposed upon home-grown chicory in 1860. The crop gradually abandoned. The duties reduced by Lowe, in 1872. The duties in 1882. The yield.

Chicory, the wild endive, produces a root, like a carrot, from which is manufactured, in this and other countries, a powder used to mix with ground coffee. The plant is said to have been introduced into Europe from China, where it is indigenous, about the middle of the sixteenth century; and it was subsequently cultivated in Germany, the Netherlands and France, for the purpose before mentioned. The process of manufacture commences after the roots have been first dried to a certain extent by the chicory dryer, who sells them to the roaster, by whom they are washed, cut up, kiln-dried, and ground between fluted rollers into a powder. The roots contain a considerable quantity of saccharine matter, and, in the roasting, a portion of this is converted into caramel and acquires the bitter taste of burnt sugar, with a somewhat similar aroma. To the taste of this bitter and the belief that a mixture of coffee and chicory is less heating than pure coffee, is to be ascribed the extensive use of this article in England.

An importation of chicory into this country for the purpose of use with coffee, began a few years before 1833, in which year chicory was charged with a customs duty, to protect the revenue from coffee.

Subsequently, when the cultivation of the plant commenced in England, to a considerable extent in Yorkshire, and to a limited extent in one or two of the eastern counties, at first, in the interests of the importers of coffee, efforts were made to suppress it; but in 1840, the Treasury were induced, in consequence of the agricultural distress that prevailed, to sanction the sale of the article mixed with coffee. The order to that effect was, however, rescinded in 1852, when the sale of coffee mixed with chicory was prohibited, but coffee-dealers were allowed to sell chicory powder, in parcels labelled as containing chicory. In February, 1853, a further order of the Treasury sanctioned the sale of coffee and chicory mixed, in parcels labelled to that effect.

At length, in 1860, a duty was imposed upon home-grown chicory, to be levied on the chicory in the dried state, and charged on the quantity delivered out of warehouse, for home consumption, by the dryer.¹ On proposing the tax, Gladstone stated that the duty was intended to apply to 'any other vegetable production to be used with coffee, as a protection to the coffee revenue, which had not grown and which probably could not grow, as long as an article that assumed the appearance of coffee was admitted duty free, while coffee itself paid a high duty. This would entail the disadvantage of an excise, but that was not a serious matter, because the growth of chicory in this country, which some time ago was more considerable, had almost died out. Some years ago many thousand

¹ 23 & 24 Vict. c. 113, which contains regulations on the subject.

acres were employed in the growth of chicory ; but at that time the whole quantity under cultivation, as far as he could learn, was under 500 acres.'

The duty was only 3*s.* the cwt., rising to 5*s.* 6*d.* in 1861, but this was increased by additions in subsequent years to an amount equivalent to the duty on coffee.

The yield, 3,010*l.* in 1863, subsequently rose, in 1867, to 23,000*l.* But experience proved that chicory, like beetroot for spirits, is a crop that can be cultivated in Belgium and other foreign countries at a less expense than in England, and the crop was gradually abandoned, under the influence of competition from abroad. In 1869, the yield was 16,000*l.* In 1872 the duties on chicory, imported and home grown, were reduced by Lowe, at the same time as the duty on coffee. Since this the process of diminution in the home-grown crop has continued ; in 1880 the yield was only 1,900*l.*, as against 75,000*l.* from foreign chicory. The duties at present in force are :—

For chicory imported :—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Raw or kiln-dried, the cwt.	13	3
Roasted or ground, the lb.	0	2 ¹

For chicory grown in the United Kingdom :—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Raw or kiln-dried, the cwt.	12	1 ²

In 1882–3, the yield from imported chicory was 67,570*l.*

¹ The Customs Tariff Act, 1876.

² The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1872.

*Imitations of Coffee or Chicory, and mixtures of them
with coffee or chicory.*

The duties, customs and excise, on chicory, extended formerly to any vegetable matter other than chicory applicable to the uses of coffee or chicory, but in 1882 this branch of the tax was repealed, and articles in imitation of coffee or chicory, and any mixtures of such articles with coffee or chicory, are now taxed, if kept for sale, by means of a duty of $\frac{1}{2}d.$ for every quarter of a pound, to be expressed by a label on the package containing the article.¹ The revenue from this source is insignificant. In 1882--3 it was 6,344*l.*

¹ The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1882.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TAX ON COCOA-NUTS.

The *theobroma cacao*. Chocolate. The importation checked by taxation. The duties reduced in 1832, 1842, 1845, and 1853. The yield in 1880 and 1882.

WHEN we speak, in England, of cocoa-nuts we mean generally the well-known coker-nut, as it was formerly spelt, a fruit that grows in bunches under the 'tender coco's drooping crown of plumes.' The cocoa-nuts from which a beverage is made are the beans or seeds of a smaller tree, the cacao of the genus *theobroma*, Gr. food for the gods. They are extremely nutritious, and are imported principally from Trinidad and Grenada in the British West Indies, and Ecuador and New Grenada.

Chocolate is made from the cocoa-nuts, and for a long time the importation of cocoa-nuts and chocolate was checked by the heavy duties to which these articles were subjected.

In 1832, the duty on cocoa-nuts was reduced from 6*d.* to 3*d.* the pound for cocoa from any British possession, with the effect of increasing the consumption from an average of about 440,000 pounds for the three years ending with 1831, to an average of 2,072,000 pounds for the three years ending with 1842.¹ The duty on cocoa-paste or chocolate from a British possession was also reduced to 4*d.* the pound.

¹ McCulloch, Comm. Diet.

In 1842, Peel, on his first revision of the tariff, reduced the duties for cocoa, husks and skins, and chocolate, from British possessions, to 1*d.*, $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and 2*d.* the pound respectively; and in 1844 the duty for cocoa not from British possessions was reduced to 2*d.* the pound. This rate, with a duty of 1*d.* the pound for husks and shells, and 6*d.* the pound for chocolate, not from British possessions, continued in force until 1853, when Gladstone, 'with the desire to lower the duties that pressed on those foreign articles of food which enter largely, if not into the necessities of life, at any rate into what may be called the luxuries, or the comforts, of the mass of the people,' imposed the duties on cocoa, husks and shells, and cocoa-paste or chocolate, from all parts, at uniform rates, viz. for cocoa, 1*d.*; for husks and shells, $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; and for cocoa-paste or chocolate, 2*d.* the pound.¹ Subsequently, in 1855, the duty on husks and shells was reduced to 2*s.* the cwt.

In 1866, over four millions of pounds were retained for home consumption, and in 1879 the consumption had increased to 10,111,000 pounds, the yield of the duty being 46,000*l.*

In 1879, ground or manufactured cocoa was subjected to the 2*d.* duty; and in 1880, the yield was 50,000*l.* In 1881, the declared values of the quantities of cocoa, cocoa husks and shells, and chocolate imported, exported, and retained for home consumption in the United Kingdom were as follows:—852,978*l.*, 326,698*l.*, and 526,280*l.* In 1882–3 the yield was 59,380*l.*

¹ See 2 & 3 Will. IV. c. 84; 5 & 6 Vict. c. 47; 8 & 9, c. 90; 16 & 17, c. 106.

BOOK III.
THE TAX ON TOBACCO.

THE TAX ON TOBACCO.

Introduction of tobacco into Western Europe. The name 'Tobacco.' Introduction of tobacco into England. Raleigh brings smoking into fashion. The 'drinking' of tobacco. King James I. and 'the Counter-blaste against Tobacco.' Impost upon tobacco. The cultivation of tobacco in England. It is prohibited. The tobacco licenses. Increase in smoking under the commonwealth. The excise on tobacco. Duty on tobacco in the Book of Rates, 1660. Smoking during the Great Plague. Increase in the habit after the Revolution. Tobacco and snuff in the reign of Queen Anne. They come into general use before 1732. Yield of the tax. The tobacco frauds. Walpole's excise bill in 1733. Opposition to the bill, which is withdrawn. The tobacco lords of Glasgow. Smuggling due to high taxation. Tobacco placed under the excise system by Pitt in 1789. The yield in 1793. The duties raised in the war. The yield in 1815. Excessive taxation of tobacco. Reduction of the duty, by mistake, in 1825. Robinson accepts the result. Pitt's scheme of 1789 reported a failure. The excise survey discontinued in 1840. Peel, in 1842, equalises the duty on all tobacco. The yield in 1843. Continuous increase in the yield subsequently. Gladstone's Manufactured Tobacco Act of 1863. The yield in 1867, 1870 and 1871. The consumption in 1841, 1851, 1861 and 1871. Addition to the duty in 1878. The yield in 1879 and 1882.

TOBACCO, at present the most productive contributory to our customs revenue, has been known to us, in England, for more than three centuries.

Into Western Europe it was first introduced in 1560, when Francesco Hernandez imported some plants of tobacco from America into Spain. The plant was termed by the natives petun, and they had, for ages before the discovery of the western continent by Europeans, been accustomed to inhale

the smoke of the burning leaves, using for the purpose a roll of the leaves, the prototype of the modern cigar, or a tube or pipe, which they termed *tabaco*. This name Hernandez and the Spaniards adopted as a name for the plant itself.

Originally, however, the newly-discovered plant passed in Europe under a variety of names. In France, it was termed 'herbe du grand prieur,' from the grand prior of France, to whom Jean Nicot, lord of Villemain, ambassador of France at the court of Portugal, had sent some seeds of the plant purchased by him at Lisbon. This name was subsequently superseded by that of 'herbe à la reine' or 'herbe Médicée,' when Nicot, on his return to France in 1561, presented some plants of tobacco to the queen—Catherine de Medicis. But after the death of the queen this royal designation ceased; the honour of giving a name to the plant reverted to Nicot, the original importer; and tobacco retains at the present day, as its botanical name, that of 'herbe Nicotiane'—'herba Nicotiana.' In Italy, in a similar manner, tobacco was termed, on its first introduction into that country by cardinal Prosper Santa Croce, 'erba Santa Croce.'

In England, where it was first introduced by sir John Hawkins, in 1565, tobacco originally passed under various names. Many of these had relation to the use of it as a drug or in the form of a poultice for bruises and wounds. The sanitary and curative properties it was considered to possess caused it to be termed in herbals—'herba panacea;' 'herba sancta;' 'sana sancta Indorum.' In this sense also Spenser,

in 'The Faery Queen,' terms it 'divine tobacco;' and Lilly, the Euphuist, in 'The Woman in the Moone,'¹ 'our holy herb nicotian.'

Eventually, the name derived from the pipe used by the Americans superseded all other names, and the plant continues to the present day to be termed, by the Spaniards, *tabaco*; while the Germans, Dutch and Russians, term it *tabak*; the French, *tabac*; and the Portuguese, Italians and English, *tobacco*.

The original consumers of tobacco were the mariners and others connected with the adventures to America; but Raleigh brought smoking into fashion among young men about the court; and at the close of the sixteenth century, the gallant, with his 'tobacco-box, ladle for cold snuff into the nostril, and tongs and priming-iron, all which artillery might be of gold or silver, if he could reach the price of it,' was a well-known figure at the ordinary,² the *table-d'hôte* of the period, and the smoker was a character frequently produced in plays on the English stage. The habit had extended to the citizens in London, and people smoked in public, at the bear-garden in Southwark, and in the theatres and other places of amusement, using for the purpose pipes made of clay.

The original method of smoking practised in this country, which was to inhale the smoke and blow it out through the nostrils, from which the 'tobacconists,' or smokers, were said to drink, that is, swallow the smoke, caused a copious defluxion from the nose which was considered beneficial to health: it relieved a plethora due

¹ A.D. 1597.

² Decker, *Gull's Horn-book*, p. 119.

to the inordinate consumption of meat and beer, the very thick clothing and the ill-ventilated houses of the day. This consideration had, no doubt, a considerable influence in increasing the practice ; but the defluxion was not pleasant to see, and to this, quite as much as to the novelty of the thing, ever hateful to Englishmen, and the smell of the fumes of the herb 'lately introduced with other vanities from beyond the seas,' was due the vigorous and consistent opposition of the anti-tobacconists and the principal opponent of smoking, king James I.

The king in his endeavour to suppress the use of tobacco used means as curiously characteristic as the prohibitory measures taken for the purpose by the authorities in other countries of Europe. In Russia, the czar ordered that delinquent smokers should have the nose cut off, and in some cases, the head. In the Protestant canton of Berne, the authorities ranked the sin of taking tobacco as second only to adultery, according to their views the crowning sin of the age, and punished it accordingly. In Turkey the offender, with a tobacco-pipe thrust through the cartilage of the nose, was to be paraded through the streets, seated backwards on an ass. And in Rome, where snuff was used by persons in church for the same purpose that coffee when first introduced was used by the Arabians before going to mosque, viz. to keep themselves awake, pope Urban VIII. suppressed it in 1624, under the penalty of excommunication.¹ James I. endeavoured

¹ Thus also in 1690 Innocent XII. excommunicated persons taking snuff in St. Peter's at Rome.

to write down the use of the odious herb in a learned treatise, 'The Counterblaste against Tobacco;' and, by royal commission, exacted from importers of tobacco from Virginia, a special impost of 6s. 8d. the pound, in addition to the duty of 2d. to which the article was liable under the general heading, in the Book of Rates for the customs, relating to 'merchandize not specifically mentioned.'

Notwithstanding royal opposition, the habit of smoking continued to spread. Jonson, in 'The Devil is an Ass,'¹ remarks that as carmen had got into the yellow starch, so chimney sweepers had got 'to their tobacco and strong waters;' and before 1614, tobacco had become 'a commodity vendible in every tavern, wine and ale house; apothecaries' shops, grocers' shops, and chandlers' shops, were hardly ever without company that from morning till night were still taking tobacco; besides which, a number of persons kept houses and set open shops, that had no other trade to live by, but by the selling of tobacco.'²

The special impost on tobacco from Virginia encouraged the importation of Spanish and Portuguese tobacco: 'For our cloth and merchandize exported to Spain and Portugal,' said sir Edward Sandys, in 1620, in the house of commons, 'we now get, not a great mass of money, as formerly, but nothing but tobacco;'³ and we now commenced the planting of tobacco in this country. The crop was not a success, the tobacco proving too dull and earthy,⁴ and before the close of

¹ Act 1, scene 1.

² Barnaby Rich in his *Honestie of this Age*, 1614.

³ Parl. Hist. i. 1195.

⁴ Bacon, Works, ii. 623.

the reign, was prohibited in England and Wales by a royal proclamation.

Special licenses were now required for persons importing tobacco;¹ and notwithstanding the well-known aversion of king Charles to smoking and the consequent discouragement of it at court, the productiveness of the monopoly during his reign proves the habit to have been still on the increase among the people generally. In 1634, 'the tobacco licenses go on apace; they yield a good fine and a constant yearly rent.'² The actual yield of the licenses in 1635 was 8,699*l.*, and that of the tobacco duty, 10,000*l.*

The Puritans included the habit of smoking in their general condemnation of all ungodly recreations; the aversion of the Protector to the practice is historical; and though, under the commonwealth, the monopoly no longer existed, tobacco was charged, in addition to the customs, with an excise, payable by the first buyer from the importer or merchant, viz. 1*d.* per lb. for tobacco from English plantations; and 1*s.* per lb. for all other tobacco. Nevertheless, smoking continued to increase; and before the grave closed over the Protector, the earliest opportunity for unrestrained indulgence was taken by the soldiers whom Evelyn, a spectator of what he is pleased to term the 'joyfullest funeral I ever saw,' observed drinking and taking tobacco in the streets as they passed by.³

¹ Foedera, xx. 118.

² Stafford Letters. The licenses were life licenses. Plymouth was specially productive of license duty.

³ Diary, October 22, 1658.

After the Restoration, the prohibition of the culture of tobacco in England and Wales received statutory confirmation, and was extended to Ireland. The excise was discontinued, but tobacco was subjected to a considerable duty in the new Book of Rates for the customs.

The supposed exemption from infection of the tobacconists' shops during the Great Plague of London, 1665. gave an impulse to the habit of smoking: and though not in favour at the court of Charles II., where the monarch and his courtiers followed the fashions and tastes of Louis XIV., who hated both tobacco and snuff and banished them from the court of Versailles, it continued steadily to increase among the people generally; and after the Revolution and our more intimate connection with the Dutch, with whom tobacco had always been a favourite, pipes grew larger, assuming Batavian proportions, and all England puffed in peace.

The practice of smoking continued to increase during the reign of queen Anne, though this period is more remarkable for the prominence attained by the snuff-takers:—Sir Plume, the type of the beau of the day, 'of amber snuff-box justly vain;' Pope himself, a constant snuff-taker; Swift, with his tobacco box in hand, taking his *tabac en poudre*, or *tabac rapé*—grated snuff—whence *rapee*, the English counterpart of the *abbé* of the Regency; and Prince Eugene, who is described after the manner of those times as 'a great taker of snuff, and towns.'¹ In the third

¹ Dost sometimes counsel take, and sometimes, tea.

decade of the century, the use of tobacco in one form or another had become so widely diffused, that Walpole, speaking in the house of commons on the subject of the tax on tobacco, stated that 'from the palace to the hovel there was no exemption from the duty.'¹

In 1732, the duty, at 6½*d.* the pound, produced a gross yield of 754,000*l.*; but the net produce was only 160,000*l.* This enormous difference in the gross and net receipts was the result of various forms of fraud. One form consisted in taking advantage of the drawback or return of duty allowed on exporting tobacco. The trader, on paying duty for his tobacco on importation, used light weights; but, on weighing it for exportation, heavy weights; so that 100 lbs. 'inwards' would weigh 150 lbs. 'outwards.' Large profits were made in this manner, sometimes by collusion with the officer of customs. A particular case of dishonesty was that of Mitford, whose books, which were produced, showed an original entry of tobacco of certain quantities (which were false) on importation, over which a slip of paper stating the real quantities had been pasted, so artfully as to escape, or at any rate to be sufficient reason for its escaping, the eye of the export officer. And thus when exporting the tobacco, he secured, as for drawback, nearly double what he had actually paid for duty on importation. Another case was that of Peile, who paid, in September 1732, duty on 310 hogsheads of tobacco, from Maryland, by the 'James and Mary;' and subsequently, on exporting 200 hogsheads, managed to gain 13,292

¹ Coxe, Walpole, iii. 86.

pounds more than the weight on which duty was paid on importation. After which, by the use of certificates of debentures on a former payment of duty for tobacco from Virginia, in 1731, and by means of a false endorsement on the cocket, or customs' document of discharge, he gained 8,288 lbs. more, making a total gain by the fraud of 21,580 lbs. This practice was described in a ministerial squib of the day as follows :—

They had learnt such a knack
In the case of drawback,
For each pound of tobacco exported,
That the custom for two
They drew back as their due,
By which they were greatly supported.

Another form of fraud consisted in relanding tobacco for which drawback had been paid as for tobacco exported ; a business which afforded occupation to almost a fleet of smuggling ships employed at Guernsey, Jersey, and the Isle of Man in receiving exported tobacco and relanding it ; while others were employed at Ostend and Dunkirk in the same sort of trade.

Another fraud consisted in obtaining the tobacco drawback for a 'commodity' consisting of 'tobacco stalks pressed flat and cut and mixed with sand and dust,' which was imposed upon the revenue officer for tobacco.

A fourth form of fraud, termed 'socking,' carried on by watermen, lightermen, tide waiters, and City porters, termed 'gangsmen,' consisted in pilfering the tobacco from ships in the river, and depositing it in river-side houses from London Bridge to Woolwich,

whence it was sold, 'frequently to eminent merchants.' Recent proceedings in relation to 'socking' had led to important discoveries. It was found that, in the space of one year, 50 tons of tobacco had been thus 'socked.' And in the result, 150 officers had been dismissed, and nine others convicted, of whom six were ordered to be transported, and three to be whipt.

Such were the principal frauds against the revenue. It was also diminished by losses from the failure of importers who had given bond, as allowed by law, for payment of the duty. Lastly, the allowance of discount under the existing system, viz. 10 per cent. on prompt payment of duty, gave an unfair advantage to the rich trader as against those who were compelled by circumstances to give a bond; for, on exportation, he received the whole duty as drawback.

In the hope of remedying these evils, Walpole introduced, in 1733, his famous Excise Bill, by which he proposed to bring in the excise to aid the customs department in levying the tax; the plan being to charge only $\frac{3}{4}d.$ the pound as a customs duty on tobacco imported; compel the importer to warehouse his tobacco; charge him, when he took it out of warehouse for home consumption, $4d.$ the pound as an excise duty; and place tobacco under the regulations of the excise system.

The opposition the Bill encountered at the hands of the tobacconists, the consumers of tobacco and the public, who were induced to regard it as part of a scheme for a general excise, prevented Walpole from

carrying his plan into execution ; and the withdrawal of the Bill was received with general acclamation.¹ The shop bills then in use as a form of advertisement, afforded to the tobacconists an opportunity to record their victory ; and Hogarth, in an etching on one for Ben Bradley, the Hudson of that day, represented the British lion, pipe in mouth, making merry with Britannia, seated on a hogshead of tobacco, and also in full enjoyment of a pipe.²

This plan for an excise Walpole is stated to have considered, on further enquiry, less calculated to increase the revenue than he had originally supposed ; and when subsequently, in 1751, Pelham had under consideration various schemes for more effectually securing the duty,³ and among them the plan of an excise, he is said to have formed an opinion that it would not be advisable. Nevertheless such a plan was advocated subsequently by Adam Smith, in the 'Wealth of Nations.'

Glasgow, the principal port for the importation of tobacco, a town that for long held the post of pre-eminence in the trade, produced in her 'tobacco lords,' personages of a local dignity that is historical ; and though the American Revolution ruined her tobacco trade, the riches acquired thereby formed the foundation of the present importance of the town.

In Pitt's tariff of 1787, the duties were re-imposed at the rates of 3*s.* 6*d.* the pound, for Spanish and Portuguese tobacco, and 1*s.* 3*d.* for tobacco from our

¹ Vol. ii. 100-107.

² Fairholt on Tobacco, p. 133.

³ See 24 Geo. II. c. 41.

colonies, the United States, or Ireland,¹ where the cultivation had been allowed since 1779.²

For some years before 1789 the average annual import stood at about 7,000,000 lbs. In that year the net yield was 408,037*l.* But the high rate of duty, amounting to nearly 400 per cent. on the value of tobacco, had the effect of encouraging a most extensive system of smuggling, which numerous enactments passed for the purpose failed to check. In hopes of putting an end to this, Pitt, considering a simple reduction of the duty too hazardous an experiment in relation to so important a subject of revenue, reintroduced the plan attempted by Walpole. And though his scheme encountered, on its introduction, almost as much opposition from the tobacconists as that of Walpole had encountered in 1733, in the event, 9*d.* of the existing tax was imposed as an excise or inland duty, leaving 6*d.* payable as an import or customs duty, and tobacco was placed under the ordinary system of excise permit and survey.³

In 1790, the yield, in Great Britain, was about 512,000*l.*, from an import of about 9,000,000 lbs.; and in 1793, the first year of the 'Great War,' about 547,200*l.* In the war the duties were raised on several occasions; and in 1815, at 3*s.* 2*d.* the pound for colonial, and 5*s.* 5½*d.*, for Spanish or Portuguese, tobacco, they produced 2,025,663*l.*

In 1819, in order partly to fill the void in the revenue caused by the total repeal of the income tax

¹ 27 Geo. III. c. 13.

² See 19 Geo. III. c. 35.

³ 29 Geo. III. c. 68.

after the war, the duties were increased, to yield an additional 500,000*l.* a year. Reimposed as excise duties, in lieu of partly customs and partly excise, and inclusive of the annual duty of 1*s.*, they were now 4*s.* for colonial and 6*s.* for Spanish and Portuguese tobacco.¹

In consequence of the excessive taxation to which it was subjected, this article of general consumption did not yield a revenue increasing, *pari passu*, with the increase in the population. That such was the cause was proved in 1826. In the preceding year, the duties had been reimposed as customs duties, and a general consolidation of the customs laws and duties had been effected. The intention had been to retain the 4*s.* duty, but, in effect, one-fourth of the duty, 1*s.* the pound, was allowed to lapse in July. This caused a considerable decrease in the yield for the year, but the reduction of the duty was followed by so great a reduction in smuggling, that the chancellor of the exchequer, Robinson, in the following year accepted the result of the mistake, and allowed the duty to remain—for unmanufactured tobacco, 3*s.* the pound; from British possessions in America, 2*s.* 9*d.*; for manufactured tobacco and cigars, 9*s.*²

The average produce of the tax for the next five years was, in Great Britain, about 2,250,000*l.* from 15,000,000 lbs. imported, and in Ireland, about 600,000*l.* from 4,000,000 lbs.; a total for the United Kingdom of 2,850,000*l.* from 19,000,000 lbs.

¹ 50 Geo. III. c. 53; the annual duty by c. 88.

² 7 Geo. IV. c. 48.

This was a considerable increase, but still the consumption of duty-paid tobacco did not keep pace in advance with the population of the kingdom. Poulett Thompson, afterwards lord Sydenham, advocated, in the house of commons, a further reduction of the duty; Parnell, in his work on 'Financial Reform,' advised a reduction of 2s. the pound; and Althorp, in his budget of 1831, proposed to reduce the duty by a moiety, in hopes of checking the smuggling that prevailed. Lastly, in 1834, the commissioners of excise enquiry, 'after a very laborious and diligent investigation of the excise control as applied to tobacco,' arrived at the conclusion that 'the attempt to prevent the smuggling of tobacco by a code of entries to be made of warehouses, surveys to be taken of stocks, permits to be obtained for removing tobacco, and accounts to be duly kept of all sales, was an attempt to do what was impracticable by such means;' and, reporting Pitt's scheme of 1789 to have proved a failure, pointed to the excessive duty as the cause of the excessive smuggling that existed, and recommended the experiment of a reduction of the rate and the total abolition of the excise survey. Accordingly, in 1840, the taking of stocks and the more stringent of the regulations of the excise survey were discontinued.¹

On his first revision of the tariff, in 1842, Peel equalised the duty for tobacco from all parts; and the duties were placed in the tariff under Class XVII., which included also coffee, cocoa and tea, as follows:— for unmanufactured tobacco, 3s. the lb.; snuff, 6s.;

¹ 3 & 4 Vict. c. 18.

and manufactured tobacco and cigars, 9s., with Baring's additional 5 per cent. imposed in 1841.¹

In 1843 the yield was 3,711,000*l.*; ² and from this date it shows a continuous increase of, on a rough calculation, about 100,000*l.* a year, for the next 20 years. In 1862 the yield was 5,950,000*l.*

In 1863 the duties on manufactured tobacco were reduced by Gladstone, and the manufacture of cavendish and negrohead was permitted in 'bond,' a short fiscal expression meaning in warehouses approved for the purpose, with security for the duty given by bond. Cigars were charged 5s. the lb., in lieu of the excessive rate of 9s.; Cavendish or negro-head, 4s. 6*d.*; Snuff, according to the amount of moisture in the sample, 3s. 9*d.* or 4s. 6*d.*; and Other manufactured tobacco, 4s. Unmanufactured tobacco was now charged, according to the amount of moisture, if 10 per cent. or more, 3s. 2*d.*; if less than 10 per cent., 3s. 6*d.*³

In 1867 the yield was about 6,500,000*l.*, from an import of over 40,000,000 lbs., of which 932,843 were manufactured tobacco; in 1870, it was over 6,600,000*l.*; and in 1871, over 6,800,000*l.*

The number of pounds weight of tobacco cleared for consumption had been, in 1841, when the total population of Great Britain and Ireland was 26,700,000, 23,096,281, being 0 lbs. 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ oz. per head of the population. In 1851, when the population was 27,347,000, it had been 27,734,786, being 1 lb. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ oz. per head. In 1861, when the population was

¹ 5 & 6 Vict. c. 47.

² 830,786*l.* for Ireland.

³ 'The Manufactured Tobacco Act, 1863,' 26 & 27 Vict. c. 7.

28,887,000, it had been 35,413,846, being 1 lb. 3½ oz. per head. In this year, 1871, with a population of 31,724,000, it was 42,656,658, being 1 lb. 5½ oz. per head.

In 1877 the net receipt was nearly 8,000,000*l.*; an increase of 241,000*l.* on that for 1876.

In 1878 an additional 4*d.* the pound was imposed by Stafford Northcote, and the duties were reimposed as follows:—¹

Manufactured tobacco, the pound—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Cigars	5	4
Cavendish or negrohead	4	10
Cavendish or negrohead manufactured in bond, and all other tobacco	4	4
Snuff, containing more than 13 lbs. of moisture in every 100 lbs. weight thereof	4	1
Snuff, containing not more than 13 lbs. of moisture in every 100 lbs. weight thereof	4	10

Unmanufactured tobacco, the pound—

Containing 10 lbs. or more of moisture in every 100 lbs. weight thereof	3	6
Containing less than 10 lbs. of moisture in every 100 lbs. weight thereof	3	10

In the next year, an additional 2*d.* the pound was imposed upon cigars, raising the duty to 5*s.* 6*d.*²

The yield, in 1879, was nearly 8,600,000*l.*; in 1880, 8,783,000*l.*; and in 1882–3, 8,892,000*l.*

¹ Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1878. Part I.

² Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1879. Part I.

*The Prohibition of Planting Tobacco in the
United Kingdom.*

The prohibition of planting tobacco, under the Act of Charles II.,¹ was specifically extended to Scotland in 1782. This was done in consequence of doubts whether it had, or had not, been extended to that part of Great Britain by the Act of Union,² and because some cultivation of the plant had been carried on near Kelso, Jedburgh and other places in Scotland, during the war of American Independence.

The prohibition was repealed as regards Ireland, in 1779, on the ground of the 'importance of giving every attention and encouragement to such of the produce and manufactures of Ireland as did not materially interfere with the commercial interests of Great Britain.'³ The Irish consumer could thus obtain home-grown tobacco untaxed; but the exportation was limited to Great Britain, and the tobacco imported was charged with the same duty as tobacco from British plantations. In the result, little tobacco was grown in Ireland, and the restriction was re-imposed from January 1, 1832.⁴

A little later than this, tobacco was clandestinely cultivated to some extent in Yorkshire; but the practice was discovered, the tobacco was burned, and considerable penalties were inflicted.

The prohibition remains in force; the only exemption allowed being the cultivation of tobacco in

¹ 12 Car. II. c. 34, s. 4. See also 15, c. 7, ss. 18-20.

² 22 Geo. III. c. 73. ³ 19 Geo. III. c. 35. ⁴ 1 & 2 Will. IV. c. 13.

‘any physic garden in either University, or in any other private garden for physic or chirurgery only,’ to the extent of one half of one pole of land in any place or garden.¹

Licenses to Manufacturers of Tobacco, including Snuff, and to Dealers in, that is, Persons selling Tobacco or Snuff.

These licenses formed part of Pitt’s new system for securing the duties on tobacco in 1789. The license required for manufacturers was charged with a duty varying according to the quantity of tobacco manufactured in the previous year, on a principle similar to that of the charge on brewers’ licenses, viz. not exceeding 20,000 lbs., 2*l.*; not exceeding 30,000 lbs, 3*l.*; and so on, an additional 1*l.* being charged for every 10,000 lbs. up to 150,000 lbs, with a charge of 20*l.* where the quantity manufactured was over that amount. The license for the sale of tobacco cost 5*s.* in London and Edinburgh, and 2*s.* 6*d.* elsewhere in Great Britain.²

Increased, in 1815, by Vansittart, for manufacturers, by a moiety; and for dealers, to double the previous amounts, the duties yielded in England, 27,563*l.*, and in Scotland, 2,155*l.*

In 1825, the duties were reimposed in the Excise Licenses Act, and made applicable throughout the United Kingdom, at the following rates for manufacturers: of not exceeding 20,000 lbs., 5*l.*; up to and inclusive of 40,000 lbs., 10*l.*, with three more steps of

¹ 12 Car. II. c. 34, s. 4.

² 29 Geo. III. c. 68, s. 70.

20,000 lbs. each, carrying an additional 5*l.* of charge, up to a quantity of 100,000 lbs., for which and all beyond, the charge was 30*l.* The license for the sale of tobacco was charged with a duty of 5*s.*

With the exception of Baring's 5 per cent. on the excise duties generally, in 1840, which turned the pounds charged on the manufacturers into guineas, and raised the 5*s.* for the license for sale to 5*s.* 3*d.*, the duties have not since been altered.

The yield in 1882-3 was 7,555*l.* from 594 licenses for manufacturers, and 78,692*l.* from 292,649 licenses for dealers in tobacco.

Although in 1840 the taking of stock by the excise officers was discontinued, tobacco manufacturers still continue subject to the excise survey; and the excise officers have still powers of entry into the premises of dealers in tobacco. The object of this is to prevent adulteration, and the introduction of smuggled tobacco. The duty is now charged with reference to the amount of tobacco received into stock in the previous year.

The hawking of tobacco or the sale of it in any place other than premises licensed for the purpose is absolutely prohibited, except in the case of a railway carriage duly licensed, for which special provision is made in an Act of 1884.

BOOK IV.

TAXES ON ARTICLES OF CONSUMPTION OTHER THAN EATABLES, DRINKS, AND TOBACCO.

CHAPTER I.

TAXES ON MANUFACTURES.

CHAPTER II.

TAXES ON RAW MATERIALS.

CHAPTER I.

TAXES ON MANUFACTURES.

THE TAXES ON : 1. GLASS. 2. STONE AND EARTHEN BOTTLES. 3. CANDLES. 4. LEATHER. 5. PLAYING CARDS AND DICE. 6. SOAP. 7. PAPER. 8. PRINTED GOODS. 9. NEWSPAPERS. 10. ADVERTISEMENTS. 11. STARCH. 12. PROPRIETARY MEDICINES. 13. WROUGHT PLATE. 14. BRICKS AND TILES. 15. HATS. 16. GLOVES AND MITTENS. 17. ARTICLES FOR THE TOILET.

Introductory Part.

These taxes considered as taxes on articles of consumption not eatables, drinks or tobacco. Manufactures taxed under the commonwealth. Unpopularity of excises. Temporary taxes on glass, stone bottles, tobacco pipes, and leather imposed under William III. The principal taxes under consideration imposed in the war of the Spanish Succession. Sunderland's tax on plate, in 1720. Pelham's tax on glass, in 1746. Lyttelton's proposal to tax bricks, withdrawn in 1756. Many of these taxes raised by percentages in the war of American Independence. Pitt's taxes, in 1784, on bricks, hats, plate, carriages, gloves and mittens and perfumery, tooth-powder, pomatum and hair-powder. The yield in 1793. Increase in the duties in the war with France. Repeal of several minor taxes. The yield in 1815. Vansittart's addition to the tax on soap in 1816. The tax on leather reduced in 1822 and repealed in 1830. The yield in 1831. Althorp repeals, in 1831, the taxes on candles and printed cottons; in 1833, that on tiles and half the soap duties; and in 1834, the tax on starch. The yield in 1842. Peel abolishes the tax on glass in 1845; sir Charles Wood, that on bricks, in 1850; Gladstone, that on soap, in 1853; Cornwall Lewis, that on newspapers, in 1855; and Gladstone, the tax on paper, in 1861.

THE taxes comprised in the list at the head of this chapter stand in the order in which they were imposed. Some of them, more particularly, those on leather, soap, paper and bricks, affect manufactured

articles which form in themselves the raw material for other important industries. Some have a peculiar importance as taxes on necessities of life in this country, candles, for light, leather, for shoes, soap, for cleanliness and health, and have the same operation in increasing the price of labour as a tax on salt.

Again, the taxes on bricks, tiles, stone, slate and glass, have all the same operation as a tax on timber, or any other material for houses. While the taxes on paper, newspapers and advertisements have a special bearing on the diffusion of knowledge. In short, many of these taxes present features of peculiar interest when studied from a particular point of view or from several different points of view, alone or in combination with one or more other taxes. In this chapter, however, these taxes are combined for consideration as a section of a class of indirect taxes on articles of consumption not eatables, drinks or tobacco, viz. taxes on manufactures of home-made goods.

In no country has the taxation of manufactures been carried to such an extent as in England. The pernicious effect of taxes of this kind is now allowed on all sides, and consequently they have all been repealed, with the exception of the tax on manufactured plate, the insignificant tax on cards, and the tax on proprietary medicines, which the vendors and consumers concur in wishing to retain.

The Dutch excise system, introduced into this country under the commonwealth, included taxes on many manufactured articles—soap, starch, all sorts of

glass, gold and silver wire, and all articles of cast iron made within the commonwealth ; but these, and all the other excises except those on drinks, were abandoned at the Restoration. The excises were very unpopular ; and after the Revolution, when we were hard pressed for additional sources of revenue in the war with France, it was found impracticable, at first, to reimpose taxes of this description. Attempts made, in 1694, to introduce taxes on soap, leather and candles, failed to succeed ; and the only taxes of the kind imposed under William III., were a tax on glass, which nearly destroyed a rising manufacture, and was therefore subsequently repealed ; a tax on stone and earthenware bottles, which was also repealed after a short existence ; a tax on tobacco pipes, which also proved a failure ; and a tax on leather, which was in existence for three years, from 1697 to 1700.

Nearly half a century had elapsed since the abolition of the commonwealth excises, when, towards the close of the war of the Spanish Succession, finding ourselves at a loss for additional sources of revenue, several new excises were proposed and passed into law. The popular feeling on the subject of excises had calmed down, the principles of the protective system were in the ascendant, and the manufacturers of the articles proposed for taxation submitted, with pleasure, to taxes which fell eventually upon the consumers of the articles taxed, and were accompanied with duties on foreign articles of the same description at rates which, practically prohibitory, secured to them a monopoly in the home market. Thus it was that candles, and leather,

and paper, and paper-hangings, and pasteboard, and printed, painted, or stained silks, linens and calicoes, and soap, and starch, and gilt and silver wire all ranged as contributories to the revenue in our fiscal list, which now included most of the principal manufactures in existence in England, as well as the manufacture of playing cards and dice, and the business of printing and publishing newspapers, pamphlets and advertisements.

In 1720, a tax was imposed, by Sunderland, upon the manufacture of silver plate, which was commuted subsequently for a license tax on the vendors of gold and silver plate. In 1746, in the war of the Right of Search, a tax on the manufacture of glass was reimposed by Pelham; but a proposal to tax brick-making made by Lyttelton in 1756, the first year of the Seven Years' War, was subsequently withdrawn in consequence of the opposition it encountered.

Lord North's taxes for the war of American Independence had relation chiefly to property, or what was considered to be evidence of property—property sold at auctions, inhabited houses, men servants, property insured from fire, &c. &c.; but many of the taxes on manufactures were affected by the general rises in the excise duties made on several occasions under pressure of the expenses of the war. From these, however, the manufactures of leather, candles and soap were excepted, in accordance with the rule established by Adam Smith, North's master in matters of taxation, that these taxes, if continued, should be kept at the lowest possible rate. Only as a last resource, did he

infringe the rule when in 1782, in his last Budget, he considerably increased the duty on soap.

In the long list of new taxes in Pitt's first Budget, in 1784, were one in revival of Lyttelton's project for a duty on brickmaking, a tax on cotton stuffs, bleached or dyed, which was repealed in the next year, and a tax on hats. And subsequently, in lieu of some taxes in his list he was compelled to abandon, he imposed, notwithstanding the existence of the license tax on the sellers of plate in commutation of Sunderland's tax, a second tax on the manufacture of plate, of gold or silver. These were followed, in 1785, by new taxes on the manufacture of coaches or carriages, and on gloves and mittens; and a tax on perfumery, tooth-powder, pomatum and hair-powder, imposed in 1786, completes the list.

In 1793 on the eve of the war with Revolutionary France, the net amount of revenue produced by these taxes in Great Britain was as follows:—

	£
1. Candles	256,000
2. Leather	281,000
3. Soap	403,000
4. Paper	83,000
5. Printed goods	265,000
6. Newspapers	140,000
7. Starch	90,000
8. Glass	183,000
9. Bricks and tiles	128,000

The minor taxes on cards and dice, gilt and silver wire, proprietary medicines, plate, hats, gloves and mittens, coaches and carriages, and perfumery, tooth-

powder, pomatum and hair powder, produced amounts comparatively small.¹

Additions were made to nearly all these taxes in the Great War with France, more particularly to the duties on bricks, on three occasions, in 1794, 1803, and 1805 ; to the duties on glass, in 1794 ; to the duties on newspapers and advertisements, in 1797 ; to the duties on paper, by Addington, in 1803, an increase in taxation which, combined in operation with an enormous development in the manufacture from the introduction of improved machinery, raised the yield under this head by nearly 500 per cent. And in 1812, the duties on leather were doubled, and the duties on glass raised to an amount that crushed the manufacture, upon a plan settled by Spencer Perceval, but introduced after his assassination, by his successor, Vansittart. At the same time a tax was imposed upon stone and earthen bottles, as rivals to glass bottles.

Meanwhile, several of the minor taxes included in the list had been repealed, those on gloves and mittens and perfumery, tooth-powder, pomatum and hair-powder, in 1794 and 1800, as failures, by the hand that imposed them ; and that on hats, in 1811, by Spencer Perceval, who denounced the tax as difficult to collect, if not, indeed, wholly impracticable.

In 1815, when taxation in this country reached the zenith, we derived from these taxes the amounts stated in the second column of the following list ; in

¹ Seventh Report, Com. Ex. Inq. p. 4. The yield from newspapers is only an estimate. No account can be rendered for 1793. In 1795 the yield in England was 142,994*l*. Report, Inland Revenue, 1870, p. 128.

the first column the amounts for 1793 are reproduced for the purpose of comparison :—

	1793.	1815.
1. Candles . . .	£256,000	£354,350
2. Leather . . .	281,000	698,342
3. Soap . . .	403,000	747,759
4. Paper . . .	83,000	476,019
5. Printed goods . .	265,000	388,076
6. Newspapers . .	140,000	383,000
7. Starch . . .	90,000	41,000
8. Glass . . .	183,000	424,787
9. Bricks and tiles .	128,000	269,121 ¹

The minor taxes on cards and dice, gilt and silver wire, proprietary medicines, plate, and stone and earthen bottles produced amounts comparatively small.

After the peace, in 1816, we repealed at a stroke the income tax and other taxes, producing, in all, about eighteen millions of revenue, and Vansittart was compelled by the wants of the exchequer to increase considerably the duty on hard soap. But this was the last occasion of an increase in taxation of this kind; henceforth the history of these taxes is a history of reductions and repeals.

Want of means prevented the chancellor of the exchequer from touching them until 1822, when the scheme for the Dead Weight Annuities enabled him to obtain, before it turned out the failure it proved to be, the consent of the House to a considerable reduction of taxation, and more particularly to the repeal

¹ Gross receipt, deducting for exports, see vol. ii. 245. The amounts given as the net receipt, in the statement in the 7th Report Com. Excise Inq., are as follows: candles, 354,367*l.*; leather, 698,146*l.*; soap, 711,651*l.*; paper, 466,206*l.*; printed goods, 387,799*l.*; starch, 47,314*l.*; glass, 424,144*l.*; bricks and tiles, 269,014*l.*

of the additional duties on leather imposed in 1812. In 1826, the minor tax on gilt and silver wire was repealed; and, in 1830, the work commenced in 1822 was completed by the Wellington administration, when they repealed the tax on leather. This tax produced about 360,000*l.*, and the amount involved in the repeal could not, in the opinion of all, have been devoted to a better object than the abolition of a tax universally condemned as one of the worst in the excise list. But unfortunately, at the same time, another tax, that on beer, was repealed, at the additional cost of three millions. This amount, in the opinion of many competent persons, might have been applied, more advantageously to the nation, to the abolition or reduction of other taxes, more particularly those on tallow candles and soap, as injurious to our manufactures, and those on glass, paper and printed goods, which operated to check the development of the manufactures taxed.

In 1831, the year after the release of leather, the remaining taxes produced:—

1. Candles	.	.	.	.	.	£447,000
3. Soap	.	.	.	.	.	1,431,000
4. Paper	.	.	.	.	.	723,000
5. Printed goods	.	.	.	.	.	614,000
6. Newspapers	.	.	.	.	.	586,000 ¹
7. Starch.	.	.	.	.	.	99,000
8. Glass	.	.	.	.	.	532,000
9. Bricks and tiles	.	.	.	.	.	375,000

Forming a total of over five millions, without reckoning the produce of the minor taxes on cards and dice,

¹ In the United Kingdom.

proprietary medicines, plate and stone and earthen bottles.

Althorp, who succeeded Goulburn in the post of chancellor of the exchequer, was not to be deterred from an attempt to satisfy his desires and redeem the pledge he considered he had given for the abolition of detrimental taxes. But what could he do to obtain the means? that was the question. Parnell, and other authorities on the subject, had suggested the reimposition of an income tax in order that many of the existing taxes might be repealed. This he was not prepared to do; and basing his plan upon a partial tax on transfers, a tax upon steamboats, and other objectionable new taxes, it split into pieces, and he was only able eventually to retain the projects it included for a repeal of the tax on candles, which with the license duty on the candle-makers, also repealed, produced 476,500*l.*, and a repeal of the tax on printed cottons and linens, producing, with the license duty on the printers, about 529,000*l.*

The new electors under the Reform Bill busied themselves in agitations for the reduction of the taxes on windows and houses rather than any of the excises; but Althorp continued the course he had marked out for himself, by abolishing in 1833 the tax on tiles, and reducing the duties on soap by a moiety at an estimated loss to the revenue of 300,000*l.*; and though in 1834 he gave up no less than 1,200,000*l.* by the repeal of the tax on inhabited houses, was able also to repeal the tax on starch, which produced 91,000*l.*, and the insignificant but detrimental tax on stone and earthen bottles.

In 1842, the taxes that still remained in the list produced :—

3. Soap	.	.	.	.	.	£1,079,000
4. Paper	.	.	.	.	.	633,000
6. Newspapers	.	.	.	.	.	261,000
8. Glass	.	.	.	.	.	565,000
9. Bricks	.	.	.	.	.	451,000
Forming a total of						<hr/> 2,989,000

In round numbers, three millions. The minor taxes on cards and dice, proprietary medicines and plate, produced amounts comparatively insignificant.

When Peel began to reform our fiscal system and for that purpose reimposed an income tax, his attention was, at first, directed to the reform of the tariff; but in 1845, when he asked the House to continue the income tax, his request was made ‘for the purpose of enabling him to make arrangements with respect to *the general taxation of the country.*’ In making these arrangements his first act was to repeal the tax on glass; nor could any measure more beneficial to the country have been proposed than the abolition of this tax, which injured a most beautiful and useful manufacture, and was in itself at variance with all sound principles of taxation. It produced at this date about 600,000*l.* per annum.

The successors to Peel in office wisely followed the course traced out by him; and in 1850, sir Charles Wood, subsequently viscount Halifax, devoted a considerable portion of a surplus he had available for the remission of taxation to the repeal of Pitt’s tax on bricks, a measure by which he promoted the building

not only of houses but of the great warehouses and railway tunnels then in progress. The loss to the revenue was about 456,000*l*.

Gladstone, in the first year he held office as chancellor of the exchequer, 1853, following the policy of Peel, continued the income tax, and by this means was able to repeal the tax on soap which produced 1,170,000*l*. per annum. Sir George Cornwall Lewis gave us, in 1855, the first untaxed newspapers. And, lastly, after some preliminary difficulties occasioned, in 1860, by the action of the house of lords, Gladstone was able, in 1861, to repeal the tax on paper, which produced about 1,350,000*l*.

The order in which our manufactures were liberated from the trammels of the excise was, therefore, as follows:—Leather, in 1830, by Goulburn; candles and printed goods, in 1831, by Althorp, and starch, in 1834, by the same hand; glass in 1845 by Peel; bricks in 1850, by sir Charles Wood; soap, in 1853, by Gladstone; newspapers in 1855, by Cornwall Lewis; and paper, in 1861, by Gladstone.

The insignificant tax on dice was repealed in 1862. The taxes still outstanding, on playing cards, proprietary medicines, and plate, produced in 1883 the following amounts:—15,212*l*., 154,439*l*., and 71,119*l*.

SECTION I.

THE TAX ON GLASS.

1695—1699 ; 1745—1845.

A few words regarding the history of glass-making. 'Glass of England' first mentioned in 1439. Patent of queen Elizabeth to foreigners. Drinking-glasses come into fashion. 'Glass coaches' copied from France. Buckingham our Colbert. Protection against foreign competition in 1695. A tax imposed in 1695, proves ruinous to the manufacture, and is repealed in 1699. Defoe accountant to the commissioners. Great improvement in the manufacture. Pelham imposes another tax in 1745. Scheme of the tax. The British Plate Glass Company, 1773. The manufacture strictly protected in 1777 and further taxed, by North. Additions to the duties. The yield in 1793. Further taxation by Pitt in 1794 and Vansittart in 1812 crushes the manufacture. Yield of the tax in 1815. Parnell's observations on the tax. Althorp's proposal to repeal it, in 1831. Yield in that year. Report of the commissioners of excise inquiry in 1835. Seats of the manufacture. Operation of the duties. 'No tax could combine more objections.' The tax reduced in 1835 and repealed, by Peel, in 1845. The yield at that date.

IN ancient times glass was made in Egypt, as well as at Sidon, and formed an ordinary article of importation from Egypt to Rome. The art of glass-making, acquired by the Romans from the Egyptians, was one of the few arts that survived the destruction of the empire ; and eventually the mystery was carried by the Veneti to their new home in Venice, where it was practised during the middle ages with a success which secured to Venice glass an undisputable supremacy over the

manufactures of other nations. Glass houses were established at Nurenburg and at Paris, in the street termed the Glass-makers Street, at an early date, long before the existence of any manufacture in England; and the first allusion to glass made in this country to be found in any historical record is in a contract, dated 1439, for painting the windows of the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick, wherein John Prudde covenants not to use for the windows any 'glass of England.' Where the glass thus mentioned may have been manufactured is unknown, but whatever manufacture may have existed in England, we derived, during the middle ages, a supply sufficient to meet the limited demand for glass for the windows of churches, royal palaces, and the houses of the rich nobles, from Flanders, in exchange for our wool, and from Normandy. 'The country houses,' during those times, 'instead of glass did use much lattice and that made either of wicker or fine rifts of oak chequerwise.'¹

At the commencement of the reign of queen Elizabeth the home manufacture was insignificant. A chronicler of that date notices that glass-makers are 'scant in the land,' adding: 'Yet one there is, as I do understand, at Cheddingfold in Sussex.' This home-made glass was, 'either by reason of the matter or the making, neither pure nor clear, and therefore was used of the common sort only.' Such glass probably was sold by the itinerant vendors termed glassmen, who were licensed for the purpose by the justices,

¹ Harrison, Description of England.

and are exempted from the stringent provisions and penalties of the Vagrant Acts.

At this date we derived a considerable portion of our supply of window glass from the Vosges, where the manufacture was established near an abundant supply of wood for fuel; and when, in consequence of the disturbances in France and the Low Countries, our supply from the Vosges was interrupted, a patent was granted,¹ in 1567, by the Queen to Anthony Dollyne and John Carye, merchants of Antwerp, who introduced into England glass-makers from the Vosges, and established a manufacture from which was derived much of the glass which superseded lattice in the 'New Building' of the times of Elizabeth. No feature in the Elizabethan Halls and Manor Houses was more remarkable than the development of the windows. Indeed, complaints were made of the excessive size of the windows: 'A man knows not,' writes Bacon, 'where to sit out of the sunshine or a draught.' In 1589 fifteen glass houses were at work. 'Horn in the windows was now quite laid down in every place, and our lattices had also grown into less use, because glass had come to be so plentiful, and within very little as cheap, if not cheaper, than the old lattice.'²

In the times of Elizabeth *drinking glasses* first came into general use, in supersession of the gold, silver, and silver gilt or parcell gilt cups and drinking vessels, and the mazers and cups of polished wood hitherto used. For when, in consequence of the dis-

¹ Ellis, Orig. Lett. vi. 157.

² Harrison, Description of England.

covery of the New World, silver increased in abundance, the courtiers of Elizabeth, imitators of Italian habits and manners, as well as dress, began to use Venice glasses for drinking the clearer beverages then coming into fashion, viz., what we term the white wines, and the hopped beer so much clearer than the old national ale. Wine-glasses from Murano, the island to which the Venetians had transferred the glass-makers for the purpose of the careful supervision of their 'mystery,' became the fashion with the 'gentility,' as Harrison terms them; and the wealthy commonalty followed the example of the gentility.¹ Gold and silver were considered vulgar—'loathed on account of the abundance;' and though at this date, oriental china first appeared in England in the shape of costly gifts of drinking vessels in porcelain, as a rule, little glasses for wine and beer were the favourite ornaments of the ladies' chamber until hot drinks came into use. They were only deposed from that proud position at a later date by the little cups of porcelain from China and Japan for tea or chocolate, in the reigns of William and Mary and queen Anne.

Of Venice glasses, a manufacture was also introduced, in 1558, into England, and the finer sorts of glass were made at a place at Crutched Friars in London, by an Italian. But fine glass, little inferior, it was said, to that of Venice, was made also in the Savoy House in the Strand. The price of these drinking glasses must have been considerable, for we find that when a courtier of Elizabeth petitioned, through

¹ Description of England.

Leicester, for the plate of the Cambridge colleges 'as not required by such persons,' and the queen granted his request on condition that he should find the scholars in drinking glasses, he prudently withdrew the petition.

The glass manufacture introduced into England in the reign of Elizabeth attained, at first, a certain amount of development, but did not eventually prosper. A great quantity of fuel was necessarily used in the furnaces, while complaints were constant of the growing scarcity of wood, and that we wanted all that remained to use for naval purposes and for house fuel. The manufacture was discouraged for the same reason as the manufacture of iron. 'Iron and glass,' writes Harrison, 'spoil much wood, and after all may be imported from abroad better and cheaper than we can make them at home.'

In 1615 a patent was granted to sir C. Maunsel for making glass with pit coal in lieu of charcoal, but with no great results as regards the immediate increase of the manufacture; and we continued to derive all the best sort of glass used in England, or the greater part of it, from abroad, obtaining drinking glasses from Venice, made in many instances from descriptions or designs sent out from England.

Before the Restoration, the glass house in Broad Street had been turned into a dancing house; but in 1668 there was a glass house at work in Blackfriars, to which, in February, Pepys took his cousins to show them the process of the manufacture.

In this year (Aug. 19), Colbert, as ambassador from France, entered London with great magnificence.

‘I have never seen,’ writes Evelyn, ‘a richer coach than that which he came in to Whitehall.’ Such coaches were now for the first time made with glass windows, and *glass coaches*, as they were termed, were in the highest fashion in France. When de Grammont had one made and imported as a present for the king, a battle royal ensued between lady Castlemaine and the great beauty of the court, miss Stewart, subsequently duchess of Richmond, for the first ride. In such a coach, with the glass up, lady Peterborough, on September 23, 1667, ‘seeing a lady pass by in a coach whom she would salute, the glass was so clear that she thought it had been open, and so ran her head through the glass.’¹ In short, a manufacture had commenced in France of *plate glass* for coach windows, established by the exertions of Colbert, who, after encountering many difficulties, obtained, as the ultimate result of his endeavours, aided by a fortunate discovery of Venetian secrets by the workmen of m. de Nehou and the patronage of the king, the establishment, at St. Gobain and Tournay, of those manufactures which have since made France renowned for glass-making.

The versatile Buckingham was our Colbert. ‘To him we are to this day,’ writes the ‘Spectator’ subsequently, ‘beholden for the whole trade and manufacture of glass.’ In 1670 the duke established certain Venetian artists in glass, of whom the principal was Rosetti, at a manufactory at Fox-hall in the

¹ This story, of an ordinary form of accident in our days, is told by lady Ashley. Pepys’ Diary, v. 28. A late instance was that of the chancellor of the exchequer, who walked from his room in Downing Street (1878) into the garden through the window-glass.

parish of Lambeth, where these artists, and subsequently the firm of Dawson, Bowles and Co., made blown plate glass to equal or excel the Venetian or any other manufacture.¹ The sheets were made not only for coach windows, but for looking-glasses, as we term them, which now began to supersede the metal mirrors of former times. At another Italian glass house, at Greenwich, to which Evelyn went June 10, 1673, with a party of friends, glass was blown 'of finer metal than that of Murano at Venice.'

Notwithstanding this establishment of the glass manufacture in England, we continued, under the influence of the fashion for French articles introduced at the Restoration, to derive a considerable supply of glass from France, until the outbreak of the war after the Revolution, when the importation of glass from France was prohibited. After this, secured from competition with France, our manufacture continued to prosper until 1695, when a tax was imposed upon glass wares, curiously enough in an Act which also imposed a tax upon coal, the article most necessary for the manufacture.² The tax touched all glass wares, including bottles, which now were coming into general use. The famous English leather bottle was a thing of the past, but stone and earthen bottles might, it was imagined, if untaxed, prove successful rivals in the market to glass bottles. Such bottles were therefore also subjected to taxation.

¹ *Lover*, No. 34, May 13, 1714. *Tatler*, No. 240 and Nos. 77, 209, 210. *Spectator*, No. 19, Advt. and No. 509.

² 6 & 7 Will. III. c. 18.

The development the manufacture had attained in 1695, and the probable operation of the tax, are stated by Cary as follows : ‘Glass,’ he says, ‘is a manufacture lately fallen on here, and in a short time brought to a great perfection, which keeps many at work, and as the materials whereof it is made are generally our own and in themselves of small value, it costs the nation little in comparison of what it formerly did when fetcht from Venice. Those noble *plate glasses* of all sizes, both for coaches and houses, are things of great ornament, and much used, which also show forth the genius of the English people. And for common uses what various sorts of utensils are made of flint glass, fit for all the occasions of a family, which look as well as silver, and ’twould be better for the nation they were more used in its stead ; besides the ordinary glass for windows, and also glass bottles ; which find a greater expense both at home and abroad by their cheapness.’ ‘I fear,’ he adds, ‘the glass-makers will now groan under the excise, especially those in and about London, who have another load by the duty on coals, besides the swarms of officers, to which we lay open the houses of those men, who deserve all the encouragement we can give them and ought to have things made as casie to them as may be.’¹

A brief experience proved the inability of glass wares to bear the duties imposed in 1695, and a moiety was taken off in 1698. While, in the view that glass bottles, thus relieved of half the duty, would be able to hold their own against their more cumbrous

¹ Essay on Trade, pp. 16, 25.

rivals, the tax on stone and earthen wares was wholly repealed.

The reduction of the duties did not affect the more serious objections to which the tax was liable. 'The remaining duties were found by experience to be vexatious and troublesome in the levy and collection,' while by limiting the manufacture of glass and consequently the consumption of coal for heating the furnaces, they threatened to diminish the yield of the coal tax by more than the money they brought into the treasury. Lastly, they hindered the employment of great numbers of poor, and endangered the loss of so beneficial a manufacture to the kingdom. For these reasons the tax was repealed in 1699.¹ It may be interesting to note that Defoe, who in 1695 had been appointed accountant to the commissioners for the tax, was pensioned off, and on the savings of his office set up a manufactory of pantiles near Tilbury.

An incredible improvement in the manufacture of glass was observable before 1714, when Steele, in an article in the 'Lover,' writes: 'Could we suppose such an alteration of our affairs in other parts of commerce as that which has happened in this manufacture in thirty years' time, it would be demonstrable that the nations who are possessed of mines of gold are but drudges to a people whose arts and industry, with other advantages natural to us, may make itself the shop of the world.'²

No further tax was imposed upon the manufacture until 1746, when, in order to meet the expenses of the

¹ 10 & 11 Will. III. c. 18.

² No. 34, May 13, 1714.

war and of the suppression of the rebellion of 1745, Pelham, unfortunately, revived the tax, imposing additional duties upon all imported glass, and duties upon the materials or metal used in the home manufacture of the different sorts of glass as follows:—For CROWN, PLATE, and FLINT glass, and all white glass, 9s. 4d. the cwt.; for common bottles and all other green glass, 2s. 4d. the cwt.

The tax was secured in the manner usual for excises. The manufacturers were required to make entry, that is, register with the excise, all their furnaces, pots, pot-chambers, warehouses, and rooms and other places for preparing or storing glass; give notice of their intention to commence operations; and work under official supervision.¹

The increase in the price of glass bottles consequent upon the imposition of the tax was such as to cause Chesterfield, when writing to Mr. Prior in Ireland, to suggest that he should start a manufacture of them in that part of the kingdom, to which the tax did not extend.²

The glass manufacture in England, though checked, does not appear to have been severely injured by the tax; and in 1773 the British Plate Glass Company was incorporated, which supplied us with an article which we had hitherto imported from France, and for a long time enjoyed a practical monopoly of the manufacture, at their extensive works at Ravenshead in Lancashire.

¹ 19 Geo. II. c. 12.

² Letters to Friends. Letter 74, July 15, 1746. In Ireland the tax commenced only in 1797.

In 1777, North repealed the customs duties on imported materials for the making of glass, and laid duties professedly prohibitory upon the importation of wrought or manufactured glass. This would, he said—at least as far as the home consumption was concerned—give us the whole of the manufacture ;¹ and as he considered that the manufacture, thus encouraged, would be able to bear an additional tax, duties were imposed at double the previous rates the cwt., viz. :—For material used for, 1. Plate glass and flint glass, all enamel or stained glass, and all phial glass, 18s. 8d. 2. For window glass, known as crown glass, and for German sheet glass, 14s. 3. For spread window glass, commonly called broad glass, 7s. 4. For common bottle glass and garden glasses, 3s. 6d.²

Increased by North's three general percentages on the excise duties in 1779, 1781 and 1782, the duties were reimposed in Pitt's consolidation Act of 1787.

The net yield of the tax, in 1793, was in England, 170,612*l.*, and in Scotland, 12,777*l.* ; forming a total for Great Britain of 183,389*l.*

Again, in 1794 a considerable increase was made in the duties³—this time with a serious result in diminishing the manufacture. There was another increase in 1805.⁴ In 1810 the duties on spread window glass or broad glass were increased. Lastly, in 1812, the manufacture was *for the second time crushed by taxation*, when Vansittart enormously increased the duties on all denominations of glass, upon a plan left

¹ Parl. Hist. xix. 246.
34 Geo. III. c. 27.

² 17 Geo. III. c. 30, s. 26.
⁴ 45 Geo. III. c. 30.

by Spencer Perceval, who, he said, had made inquiries and was convinced that an additional tax equal to the present would not ruin the trade, if well secured against the foreigner. The duties were now imposed at the following rates the cwt. :—For flint and phial glass, and plate glass, 4*l.* 18*s.* For crown and German sheet glass, 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* For broad glass, 1*l.* 10*s.* For common bottle glass, 8*s.* 2*d.*

In 1815 the yield of the tax, gross receipt, after deducting for exports, was 424,787*l.* The deduction from exports was 428,346*l.*

The excessive taxation of plate glass caused so marked a decline in the manufacture and consequently in the produce of the duties, that in 1819 the rate for that description of glass was reduced from 4*l.* 18*s.* to 3*l.* the cwt. Another reduction in the duty was effected in 1825.

In 1830 Parnell, afterwards lord Congleton, in his work on Financial Reform, directed attention to the injurious effect of the excessive duties in limiting the market for glass wares and thereby diminishing the employment of capital and labour, and pointed out that, were they taken off, there would be a great exportation of the manufacture to foreign countries. He noticed also that a great many other trades were injured by the duties, besides the glass manufacturer, and that the excise regulations were obstacles in the way of introducing improvements, vexatious to the manufacturer, and raised the price of his goods. And lastly that out of 953,257*l.*, the gross duty received in 1828, 379,365*l.* was repaid in drawback on exportation, a

circumstance which supplied in itself a strong reason for repealing the duty and abolishing an unwise system of collecting so much money with the result of having to pay it back again.

The tax was proposed for repeal, by Althorp, in his Budget of 1831, which subsequently went to pieces, and as regards this suggestion was not carried into effect. It produced in that year, in England, 461,822*l.*, and in Scotland, 70,256*l.*; a total for Great Britain of 532,078*l.*

In 1835, when the commissioners of excise inquiry reviewed this tax in their thirteenth Report, the principal seat of the manufacture was at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, near the coal so essential to the manufacture, and the establishments in Newcastle and the neighbouring district of Durham paid nearly half the revenue from the duty in England. The district of manufacture next in extent was that of Stourbridge. Next to that, the works in the district of Liverpool, including those at Ravenshead. Then came, in the following order, those of Bristol, Warrington in Cheshire, Birmingham, and Leeds. There were minor works in the districts of Manchester, Salop, Sheffield, York, and within the limits of the chief office in London. In Scotland the principal works were at Dumbarton, in the Glasgow collection.

For CROWN glass, the duty was at the rate of from 200 to 250 per cent. on the cost price of the manufactured article; and repeated instances of fraud in the trade had so reduced the price of the article that, for the last two or three years, the trade had been wholly unproductive to the honest manufacturer.

As regards FLINT glass, a sort used for decanters, wine-glasses, and tumblers, the principal manufactories of which were at Birmingham and Dudley, Mr. Hawkes, the member for Dudley, stated in evidence, that his own business, one of the best established in the kingdom, had been actually relinquished by two members of his family, after an experience of the fruitlessness of any attempt to carry it on successfully and at the same time legitimately.

As regards PLATE glass, of which the only manufactory besides that of the British Plate Glass Company at Ravenshead was that of Messrs. Cookson and Cuthbert, established twenty years previously, the regulations of the excise had prevented experiments, more particularly in the case of some experimental lenses required by the commissioners of the northern lighthouses. Plates of a superior size could be manufactured better than any manufactured abroad, and at a lower price. But smaller plates, in which the amount of duty necessarily forms a large component part in the price, could not be manufactured at the same price as in France, and the manufacturer was universally undersold in the French and other foreign markets.

Only as regards BOTTLE glass were there no peculiarly strong grounds for a repeal of the duty; but the fact that one-half of the duty charged under this head was returned on drawback was a sufficient ground for recommending a total repeal.

To sum up the case, the tax operated as a direct tax on industry, by checking the consumption of the article; prevented the free progress of invention and

improvement ; and was an impediment to our successful competition with the foreigner. It should be totally repealed at the earliest possible period, on the ground that '*no tax could combine more objections, or be more at variance with all sound principles of taxation.*'

In consequence of this recommendation, the duty on flint glass was, in 1835, reduced from 6*d.* to 2*d.* the pound. The result was eminently satisfactory. The illegal manufacture was almost annihilated. Old works, closed under the high rate of duty, were reopened, and new works were erected in different parts of the kingdom.

In 1845, when Peel obtained the assent of the House to the continuance of the income tax for the purpose of enabling him to reform our fiscal system, he at once selected this tax for repeal, as the most objectionable in our fiscal list.

The yield was at that date about 600,000*l.*

SECTION II.

THE TAX ON STONE AND EARTHEN BOTTLES.

1695—1698. 1812—1834.

Great Britain.

The first tax, imposed in 1695, is repealed in 1698. Another tax imposed in 1812, when Vansittart raised the duties on glass. The yield from 1830 to 1834. The tax repealed in 1834.

THE manufacture of stone and earthen bottles has twice been subjected to taxation; on both occasions as a protection to the manufacturers of glass bottles during the existence of a tax on glass.

In 1695, when duties were imposed upon glass and glass wares, manufactured stone and earthen bottles were also subjected to duties, imposed upon quart bottles, at the rate of 12*d.* the dozen, and upon other bottles, at rates varying according to the size of the bottles.¹ But in 1698, when the duties on glass, having proved so excessive as to discourage the manufacture, were, on that account, reduced by a moiety, those on stone and earthen bottles, being no longer necessary for the protection of the manufacturers of glass bottles, and having proved ‘vexatious and troublesome, and very chargeable in the levying and collecting the same,’ were totally repealed.²

¹ 6 & 7 Will. III. c. 18.

² 9 & 10 Will. III. c. 45.

In the following year, the duties on glass and glass wares were repealed; but after half a century of freedom from taxation, the manufacture of glass was again subjected, in 1746, by Pelham, to a tax, extending, as in the case of the previous tax, to glass bottles. No corresponding tax was, however, imposed upon stone and earthen bottles until 1812, when a considerable increase was made in the duties on glass, by Vansittart, in his first budget, and for the protection of the glass manufacturers, stone and earthen bottles were again charged with duty, and, notwithstanding the former experience of the evil effects of the excise regulations, a whole code of provisions regarding entry of premises and utensils, notice of working, survey, &c., was again applied to the manufacture.¹

The charge was confined to bottles not exceeding two quarts in measure or capacity, which alone were considered to enter into competition with glass; and the rate of duty, as at first imposed, was 2*s.* 6*d.* per cent.

This was not enough; and in 1817, 'for protection of the glass manufacturers,' the duty was raised to 5*s.* per cent.² Blacking bottles, however, were exempted from the tax, as not interfering with the glass trade; no purchaser ever demanded a transparent bottle for the new liquid blacking.

The yield, taking the average of four years from 1830 to 1834, was only 3,675*l.* per annum, and in 1834, the commissioners of excise inquiry, in their fifth Report, advised that the tax should be repealed.

¹ 52 Geo. III. c. 139.

² 57 Geo. III. c. 119.

Insignificant in the yield, inconvenient and annoying to the trader in consequence of the regulations of the excise, and expensive in the collection, which amounted to about 20 per cent. on the yield, this tax was, moreover, now declared to be unnecessary for the protection of the manufacturers of glass bottles. The demand for glass bottles arose principally in the wine and spirit trades, consumers of those liquors preferring transparent bottles which enabled them to see whether the liquor was clear and bright ; while stone and earthenware bottles were used only where peculiar strength was necessary, as for beer for ships' stores, ginger beer, and aërated waters.¹ In short, the two sorts of articles were applied to different uses, and therefore there was no competition between them. This had been proved in Ireland, where the glass tax was in force unprotected by any duty on stone and earthen bottles.

The tax was repealed in the same year.²

¹ But glass was now much used for soda-water, which, formerly, had been kept in stone bottles. The tax on soda, potash, and aërated waters had been taken off in 1833, and the consumption of such waters was fast increasing. The consumer preferred a bottle which he could ascertain to be clean.

² 4 & 5 Will. IV. c. 76.

SECTION III.

THE TAX ON THE MANUFACTURE OF CANDLES.

1710—1831.

This tax imposed in 1709. Scheme of the tax. The duties doubled in 1711. Average yield in 1754 and 1767. Adam Smith's observations on this tax in the 'Wealth of Nations.' The duties on wax candles reduced by Pitt and those on tallow candles increased in 1784. These are taken off in 1792. The yield in 1793, 1815, 1820 and 1829. Parnell urges the repeal. The tax repealed by Althorp in 1831. The yield.

MANY nations have derived revenue from taxes imposed upon the means of light, *ex luce lucellum*; but such taxes are, in our days, allowed to be, in their operation, as detrimental to the public interest as any that can be devised.

In England, after the Revolution, during the war with France, when suggestions were made for the reimposition of excises, and candles and soap were suggested as articles of general consumption which if taxed would produce a considerable revenue, the traders in and retailers of those articles, determined not to be sufferers from the proposed taxes, at once raised the price of their goods by an amount equal to a tax.¹ The proposed taxes were not carried into effect, and this action of the traders induced Davenant, when writing on the subject, to express an opinion

¹ Davenant, Discourses on Revenue, IV., Works, i. 225.

that taxes on articles of general consumption could not be imposed advantageously to the public without a stringent law of assize to regulate the price of the articles taxed. This opinion, however, he subsequently saw reason to alter, and he became an advocate for the imposition of such taxes without regard to any regulations of price. Not long after this, in 1709, a tax on candle-making was imposed, forming the first of several taxes upon the manufacture of articles of general consumption which owed their origin to the necessities of the war of the Spanish Succession.

The tax included wax and tallow candles; and the rates were—for wax, 4*d.*; and for tallow, $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, the pound.¹ A code of stringent regulations was necessary to secure the tax. Every maker of candles was required to register his melting-houses with the excise, give due notice to the officers before commencing a course of candle-making, and limit his operations to certain statutory hours.² The use of oil lamps in any dwelling-house was prohibited, unless fish oil were used made of fish within Great Britain; and the sale of candles was prohibited in any other place than a public shop or warehouse, or in a public fair or market.

The private making of candles for consumption at home was allowed under a composition for the duty, similar to that which, under the commonwealth excise on beer and ale, had been in force to cover private brewing for home consumption, viz. 1*s.* per annum for ‘every head which at any time or times during the

¹ 8 Anne, c. 9. From May 1, 1710, for five years, made perpetual by 9 Anne, c. 21, s. 7.

² 10 Anne, c. 26.

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in his trade, that the tax was open to objection. . From the nature of the manufacture, it was exceedingly difficult to prevent the fraudulent practice of making candles in secret and obscure places without payment of duty. While in the case of wax candles the excessively high rate of duty fostered the secret manufacture.

In the hope of checking this practice, which had of late greatly increased, Pitt, in his first Budget, in 1784, lowered the duty on wax candles to 3*d.* the pound, charging spermaceti candles at the same rate.

Every maker of wax or spermaceti candles was now required to take out an annual license for his trade, costing 5*l.* ; and every trader in or seller of such candles, an annual license costing 5*s.*¹

At the same time he imposed an additional $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* the pound on tallow candles ; which, however, as pressing heavily on the lower classes, he was able to take off in 1792, at an estimated loss to the revenue of 106,000*l.*

The net yield in 1793, at the commencement of the war with France, was in England, 246,381*l.* ; and in Scotland, 9,925*l.* ; forming a total for Great Britain of 256,306*l.* In 1815 the yield was 354,350*l.* ; in 1820, 375,455*l.* ; and in 1829, 489,059*l.*

The difficulty of preventing the clandestine manufacture of candles continued to be a grave objection to the tax ; but Parnell, in his work on ' Financial Reform ' first published in February, 1830, urged with great force the graver objections to which it was liable in consequence of its operation as a check upon industry ; and lord Althorp, an avowed disciple of Parnell, selected

¹ 24 Geo. III. c. 36.

continuance of the composition should be of the family of the person so compounding.'

Rushlights—those strips of rush pith dipped into the scummings of the bacon-pot or other unsophisticated fat, the economy of which is so much praised by White in his 'Natural History of Selborne,' were exempted from taxation; if made for private use and not for sale, of small size, and only once dipped in or once drawn through grease or kitchen-stuff and not at all through any tallow, melted or refined.¹

The rates were doubled in 1711, but subsequently the tax was, by general consent, exempted from the various general rises in the excise duties, and at 8*d.* the pound for wax, and 1*d.* the pound for tallow candles, continued payable down to the time of Pitt.

The average net yield for eight years ending 1754 was 136,716*l.*; and for eight years ending 1767, 155,789*l.*, showing an increase of 19,073*l.*

The tax gave rise to continual complaints, and suggestions that it should be repealed had frequently been made before 1776,² when Adam Smith in his 'Wealth of Nations,' grouping this tax with the taxes on salt, leather, and soap, directed attention to them as taxes open to serious objections, more particularly from their operation in increasing the price of labour. Such taxes, he urged, if necessarily kept in our fiscal list, should be reduced to the lowest possible rate. But it was not on this ground only, or for the obvious reason of the interference to which the candle-maker was subjected

¹ 8 Anne, c. 9, s. 31; 9, c. 6, s. 15.

² Burke, Observations on a late publication. Gee on Trade, &c.

TAX ON THE MANUFACTURE OF CANDLES

in his trade, that the tax was not so much a tax on the nature of the manufacture as a tax on the quantity of candles in secret and open shops, and on the duty. While in the case of wax candles a high rate of duty forced the manufacturer to

In the hope of checking the practice, which late greatly increased, Parliament in 1792 lowered the duty on wax candles to the same rate as on spermaceti candles at the same rate.

Every maker of wax or spermaceti candles was required to take out an annual license for each shop costing 5*l.*; and every trader in candles was required to take out an annual license costing 5*s.*

At the same time he imposed a tax of one pound on tallow candles, which was not so heavy on the lower classes as the tax on wax candles in 1792, at an estimated loss to the Treasury of 100,000*l.*

The net yield in 1793 of the duties on candles was 256,306*l.* In 1794 the net yield was 375,455*l.*; and in 1795 it was 400,000*l.*

The effect of the tax on the manufacture of candles was not so much to increase the tax as to increase the quantity of candles in the first place, and to increase the force of the tax in the second place, consequently the tax was not so heavy as it had been, and lost its effect.

this tax for repeal in 1831. 'It is one of a class of taxes,' he said in his Budget speech, 'which interfere with the interests of commerce and take more money from the pockets of the people than the revenue they produce.' Many benefits would accrue to the less wealthy classes from the repeal, and farmers would now be enabled to make use of the raw material which came into their possession in their domestic arrangements, and make their own candles untaxed and clear of the manufacturer's profits.

The tax produced at this date, together with the license duty, which was also repealed, 476,500*l*.

Porter in his 'Progress of the Nation' notes the fact that during the existence of this tax no material improvement occurred in the manufacture of candles, while the repeal has been followed by a rapid course of improvement.

SECTION IV.

THE TAX ON THE MANUFACTURE OF LEATHER.

1710-1830.

The customs subsidies on skins and leather. Proposal for a tax on leather in 1694. In 1697 a tax imposed for three years. The tax imposed in 1710. Protection of the manufacture. The duty raised in 1711. The average yield in 1754 and 1767. The yield in 1793. The duties doubled by Vansittart in 1812. The yield in 1815. The duties reduced in 1822. The tax is repealed in 1830.

IN former times, when England was principally pasture land, the hides and skins of our cattle and the wool of our sheep formed our principal and almost our sole exports; and for ages our sovereigns derived a considerable revenue from the customs or port duties charged on the exportation of these articles. But this system was altered in 1661, when the exportation not only of raw hides, but of tanned leather, except in the shape of boots, shoes or slippers, was prohibited.

In the war with France after the Revolution, a tax on leather, proposed in 1694, failed to pass into law; but subsequently, from 1697, a tax of this description was in force for three years.

A tax on the manufacture of leather, again imposed in 1710, formed the second of the great taxes on the manufacture of articles of general consumption occasioned by the expenses of the war of the Spanish Succession.

The rate of duty was 1*d.* the pound on all hides and skins tanned, tawed, or dressed in Great Britain. An elaborate code of statutory regulations to secure the tax was obnoxious as a hindrance to the traders. But, on the other hand, the manufacture was protected by high duties imposed upon all sorts of leather, all wares made into manufactures of leather, and any manufacture whereof the most valuable part should be leather, on importation into the kingdom.¹

The importance of the article thus subjected to taxation cannot better be illustrated than by reference to the list of traders affected by the tax given in the Act. They are:—

Tanners, tawers, dressers, curriers, sellers of hides or skins, or pieces of hides or skins tanned, tawed, or dressed; shoemakers, coachmen, collar-makers, bridle-cutters, saddlers, trunk-makers, bottle-makers, merchants and other dealers in hides or skins tanned, tawed, or dressed; makers of vellum and parchment, stationers, book-binders; and lastly the commissioners and officers for the duties on stamped vellum, parchment and paper, and other traders or dealers in vellum or parchment.

An additional $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, imposed in 1711, raised the rate to $1\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* the pound.²

The net yield was on an average of eight years, ending 1754, 168,200*l.*, and on an average for eight years ending 1767, 189,216*l.*, showing an average increase of 21,016*l.*

In the 'Wealth of Nations,' published in 1776, Adam

¹ 9 Anne, c. 11.

² 10 Anne, c. 26.

Smith pointed to this tax, and those on salt, candles and soap, as taxes on necessities, which had the effect of increasing the price of labour. Such taxes, he urged, were it necessary to retain them, should be kept at the lowest possible rate; and accordingly this tax was exempted from the various general rises in the excise duties.

We derived in 1793, on the eve of the Great War with France, from this source of revenue, in England, 261,900*l.*; and in Scotland, 19,027*l.*; forming a total for Great Britain of 280,927*l.*

The yield rose considerably during the war; and in 1812, when additional revenue was required, Vansittart adopted from the plan of Spencer Perceval for the Budget he did not live to open, a project for an increase in the duty. Additional supplies of raw material from South America had occasioned a considerable increase in the manufacture for home consumption and exportation, and Vansittart now doubled the duty, to produce an additional 325,000*l.*¹ This is why Moore, in the first of the 'Intercepted Letters,' terms him 'the devout man of leather.'

Raised to 3*d.* the pound for ordinary leather, with corresponding rates for the different sorts of leather, the tax yielded in 1815, 698,342*l.*

In 1822 the war duty (for such it was) was taken off, and the rate was reduced to the previous amount of 1½*d.* the pound, at the loss of about 400,000*l.* of revenue; but the consumers of leather gained little,

¹ 52 George III., c. 94.

if anything, by the reduction, the difference being pocketed by the graziers.

The tax should have been repealed, urged Parnell in his work on 'Financial Reform.' The regulations for securing the duty continue, he observed, to fetter and annoy the traders. In effect a tax upon the raw material for many useful manufactures, it could not, in principle, be maintained in days of increasing industry and the extended use of machinery. The strap of the mechanic, the tackle used for implements of husbandry, all sorts of articles of clothing—boots and shoes, breeches and gloves—the furniture of our houses, the books on our shelves, the harness of our horses, and even the substance of our carriages; in short, a multiplicity of manufactures of the articles most necessary or most convenient in every stage of the life of man, were affected by the tax. It ought, therefore, at once to be repealed. The tax sank under universal condemnation, and was abolished, as injurious to the people, by the Wellington administration in 1830.¹

It produced at this date about 360,000*l*.

The leather trade has, since the repeal, greatly developed; and M'Culloch, where he notices the importance of the manufacture in Great Britain, places leather third or fourth in the list of our manufactures, 'being inferior only in point of value and extent to those of cotton, wool, and iron, if it be not superior to that last mentioned.'

¹ 11 George IV. & 1 Will. IV. c. 16.

SECTION V.

THE TAXES ON PLAYING CARDS AND DICE.

1711-1883.

Protection of the manufacture in 1463. The monopolies of cards and dice in 1601. Impost of Charles I. on cards and dice. A tax, imposed in 1711, is increased in 1756, 1776, and 1789. Large yield from 1789-92. Further increase in the duties in 1801 and 1804. New duties imposed in 1823. The tax on dice repealed and that on cards reduced in 1862. The yield in 1882 and 1883.

THE manufacture of playing cards and dice in England and Wales was strictly protected, from 1463, in which year, with a view to maintain several native industries, an Act of Edward IV. prohibited the importation of a number of articles, and, among them, '*cardes à jouer and dises.*'

Subsequently, in the reign of Elizabeth, a monopoly of cards, granted to Raleigh, and another for '*accidences,*' were mentioned in the house of commons in the great debate, in 1601, on the subject of monopolies. And in the reign of Charles I., imposts were levied upon the company of cardmakers and the company of dicemakers, in respect of the packs of cards and the dice made by them.

But the tax, still in existence as regards cards, was first imposed in 1711, in the war of the Spanish Succession, at the rate of 6*d.* the pack for cards, and 5*s.*

the pair for dice, made fit for play in Great Britain ;¹ and an Act of the next year secured a monopoly to the home manufacturer, by extending to Great Britain the prohibition of importation imposed as to England and Wales in 1463.²

The duties were doubled by Lyttelton in 1756, in the Seven Years' War, making them 1s. the pack for cards, and 10s. the pair for dice ; and subsequently were raised, in 1776, to 1s. 6*d.* and 12s. 6*d.*, and in 1789, to 2s. and 15s.

The highest recorded yield of the tax was in the years from 1789 to 1792, when on the average it was nearly 33,000*l.*

In 1801 the duties were again raised, to 2s. 6*d.* for cards, and a charge of 17s. 6*d.* for dice, which was increased in 1804 to 1*l.* These high rates, 2s. 6*d.* and 1*l.*, were continued until 1828, when the law on the subject was amended, and the duty for cards reduced to 1s.³

The high charge for dice was allowed to continue in force until 1862, when that branch of the tax was cut off by repeal ; since which date no ' piece of ivory, bone or other matter, made or used for any game or play, with any letters, figures, spots, or other marks thereupon to denote any chance or chances,' has been required to have thereon the little government stamp to denote the duty.

In the hope of avoiding, in the future, such extensive evasions of the tax on cards as those that had occurred,

¹ 9 Anne, c. 23, ss. 40-43.

² 10 Anne, c. 19, s. 167.

³ 9 George IV. c. 18.

the duty was now reduced to 3*d.* the pack. Henceforth also the old familiar duty card, the stamp-office ace of spades, no longer figured in packs of cards. The mode in which this card was necessarily prepared¹ rendered it to the touch different from the other cards of the pack, and the fiscal regulations had, therefore, involved a premium to card sharpening, which was now discontinued. The packs were now required to be enclosed in wrappers

Addendum.

Page 327, line 19, add The duty on sellers of cards, not makers, was repealed in 1870.

on the license for a seller only is 2*s.* 6*d.* Every licenses for makers of playing cards were taken out in the United Kingdom in the fiscal year 1882-3.

¹ See 9 George IV. c. 18, ss. 4, 8. As to the original provision, see 10 Anne, c. 19, s. 162.

² 25 & 26 Vict. c. 22.

SECTION VI.

THE TAX ON SOAP.

1712—1853.

Great Britain.

The composition of hard and soft soap. Noy's 'project of soap.' Soap taxed under the commonwealth. Proposal for a tax in 1694. Soap taxed in 1712 and the manufacture protected. Scheme of the tax. The duty raised in 1714, and by North in 1782. The yield in 1793 and 1815. The duty raised by Vansittart in 1816. The excessive duties check the consumption of soap. Other objections to the tax. Parnell's observations. The duty reduced by Althorp in 1833. The tax repealed by Gladstone in 1853. His reasons for the repeal. Principal seats of the manufacture. The yield in 1852.

SOAP is a compound of oil, fat or resin and an alkali, and the soap of commerce may be divided into hard soap and soft soap. Hard soap is made of tallow or oil and soda, a mineral alkali; soft, of similar oily matters and potash, a vegetable alkali. A soap of this description, known to the ancients, is mentioned by Pliny as made by the Germans, to whom he attributes the invention of soap.¹ Composed of tallow and potash, it was semi-fluid, and on that account was termed 'unguentum.'

The white soap used in London before 1524, when the manufacture of soap was first introduced, was imported from beyond sea, principally from Castile; 'the

¹ Lib. xviii. c. 51.

grey soap, very sweet and good, from Bristol, sold in London for a penny the pound, and never above a penny farthing, also black soap for a halfpenny the pound.' ¹

In the reign of Charles I., soap formed the subject of one of the numerous monopolies ; and the famous 'project of soap,' a measure of which Noy, the attorney-general, who drew the first ship writs, was considered the deviser, consisted in attaching to the monopoly of soap granted to the corporation of soap-boilers a condition that they should pay to the king 8*l.* per cent. on the value of all soap manufactured, in addition to the 10,000*l.* paid for their patent.² It therefore amounted, in effect, to the imposition of a duty on the manufactured article.

Under the commonwealth excise, all soap made within the commonwealth was charged with a duty of 4*s.* the barrel, to be paid by the maker, and so proportionately for hard or soft soap ; ³ but the only excises retained after the Restoration were those on ale, beer, strong waters, tea and coffee, and certain other liquors of less importance, publicly sold.

In the war with France after the Revolution, in 1694, a tax on soap was proposed, but not carried into effect, and it was not until 1712, when it was necessary, in order to meet the expenses of the war of the Spanish Succession, to have recourse to productive taxes, that a duty was imposed upon soap, at the rate of 1*d.* the

¹ Howell, *Londonopolis*, p. 208.

² See the proclamations on the subject. *Foedera*, vol. xix.

³ Scobell, *Acts and Ordinances*, ii. 452-477.

pound for all soap manufactured in Great Britain, with a protective duty of 2*d.* the pound on soap imported from abroad.

Commissioners were appointed to manage the tax. Every soapmaker was required to give notice at an office of the commissioners, stating his name, and enter, *i.e.* register, his boiling-houses and other places used for making or keeping the soap. Statutory hours were appointed for working ; and a code of regulations prescribed the accounts to be taken of the oil, tallow, potashes, lime and other materials used, and covered the whole process of the manufacture in all its details.¹

To mitigate the evil effect of the tax as regards the woollen manufacture, one-third of the duty was deducted for all soap used in the making of any cloths, serges, bays, stockings or other manufactures of sheep's or lambs' wool only, or in the finishing of the said manufactures or preparing the wool for the same. But no provision was made for the other manufactures in which soap is used.

In 1714 the duty was raised to 1½*d.* the pound.² Subsequently, the tax, by general consent excepted from the various general rises in the excise duties, was not increased until towards the close of the war of American Independence, when North, in 1782, making a distinction between hard cake or ball soap, and soft soap, charged hard soap at the rate of 2¼*d.*, and soft soap 1¾*d.*, the pound, to produce an additional 104,500*l.*³

¹ 10 Anne, c. 19.

² 12 Anne, Stat. 2, c. 9.

³ 22 Geo. III. c. 68, s. 18.

The yield was, in 1793, in England, 373,090*l.*; and in Scotland, 30,441*l.*; forming a total for Great Britain of 403,531*l.*; and in 1815, gross receipt, deducting for exports, 747,759*l.*

In 1816, when the income tax was repealed, Vansittart raised the rate for hard soap to 3*d.* the pound.¹ At this date the price of soap of that description, duty paid, was about 6*d.* the pound. The article was, therefore, taxed directly at the rate of 100 per cent. on the price; but when the duties on the substances used in the manufacture—such as tallow, barilla, and turpentine or resin—were taken into account, it bore, at this date, a tax of from 120 to 130 per cent. on the price!

In 1826 a drawback was allowed, for soap used in the manufactures of flax, cotton and silk.²

In 1827, the net yield was 1,200,000*l.*, but during the next five years, the increase in the consumption of duty-paid soap did not correspond with the rapid increase in our population and manufactures, but remained almost stationary. The excessive duties checked the consumption of soap by the poorer classes, the great mass of consumers, who, compelled by the high price to dispense with the use of soap in anything like the quantity they would employ if it were cheaper, were thus deprived of an article necessary to their cleanliness, comfort and health.

A considerable illicit manufacture was carried on, even in the licensed houses, more particularly after the introduction of the use of concentrated alkalies, which

¹ 56 Geo. III. c. 44.

² 7 Geo. IV. c. 53, s. 4.

enabled the illicit trader, for the first time, to make a soap equal in quality to that legally made, and to complete the process in about as many hours as it had before required days, when Spanish or Portuguese barilla and Scotch kelp were used.

An extensive system of smuggling from Ireland, where soap was untaxed, was established along our western coast, and North Wales was wholly supplied with soap imported clandestinely from that country.

The regulations of the excise prevented our manufacturers from trying experiments, and from introducing improvements in the manufacture, and were of such a character as to preclude them from processes which alone would enable them to produce an article capable of competing with the French manufactures at Marseilles, whither Colbert had, in former times, enticed the manufacture from Savona, and where soap was made with Gallipoli oil instead of tallow. We had some trade in the article with South America, but none with any of the countries bordering on the Levant, and Germany and the French colonies were wholly supplied with French soap. In short, our manufacturers were unable to compete with the foreigner, and our export trade was ruined.

In 1830, Parnell in his 'Treatise on Financial Reform,' after stating the objections to the tax, urged an immediate reduction of the duty, adding that, in his opinion, such a measure would effect such an increase in the amount of soap brought to charge as materially to compensate the revenue; and when in this view, lord Althorp, in 1833, reduced the duty on hard soap

by a moiety, to $1\frac{1}{2}d.$, and that on soft soap to $1d.$ the pound,'¹ the result justified the anticipations of Parnell, and was soon evident in the increased consumption of duty-paid soap and the decrease of smuggling from Ireland, while in 1835, the reduced duties produced no less than 974,099*l.*

The law on the subject was consolidated in 1840.² But the tax was doomed, as were all the other great taxes upon useful manufactures, and was repealed by Gladstone in his first Budget, in 1853, after an existence of over 140 years. Among the reasons given by the chancellor of the exchequer for the repeal, the following were the most weighty: 1. The frauds entailed by the necessary system of drawbacks incident to the use of soap in our manufactures. 2. The injurious effects of the tax on the comfort and health of the people, and 3. The ruin it caused to our export trade. But he also pointed out that the benefit to the consumer would be, besides the duty repealed, from 25 to 30 per cent., in consequence of increased production; and lastly, added a hope that a prospect opened of a larger trade in palm-oil with the coast of Africa.³

At the date of the repeal, the principal seats of the manufacture of hard soap were:—London, where, in the year ending January 5, 1852, about 44,000,000 lbs. were made. Liverpool, with a manufacture of about 40,000,000 lbs. Bristol, with between 12,000,000 and 13,000,000. Runcorn, with between 11,000,000 and 12,000,000. Greenwich, with between 8,000,000 and

¹ 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 16.

² 3 & 4 Vict. c. 49.

³ Financial Statements, p. 74.

9,000,000. Gateshead, with 7,000,000. Warrington, with 5,000,000. Brentford, with 4,500,000, and Plymouth, Newcastle, and Wakefield, with between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000 lbs. in production. Liverpool and Glasgow were the principal seats of the manufacture of soft soap.

In 1852 the yield was, after deducting 271,000*l.* for drawback, 1,126,046*l.* The annual cost of collection was about 15,000*l.*

Licenses to Makers of Soap for Sale.

1784–1870.

A duty on licenses for makers of soap for sale, first imposed in Great Britain in Pitt's Licenses Act in 1784 at 2*l.*; afterwards increased, in 1815, by Vansittart, to 4*l.*; and subsequently augmented by Baring's 5 per cent. in 1840, continued in force after the repeal of the duty on soap by Gladstone in 1853, and was abolished by Lowe in 1870.¹

¹ 33 & 34 Vict. c. 32, s. 3.

SECTION VII.

THE TAX ON PAPER.

1712—1861.

Commencement of the manufacture of paper in England. Prohibition of the importation of French paper. A tax imposed upon paper in 1712, with protection to the manufacture. Increase of the manufacture, 1760–5. The yield in 1793. Development of the manufacture. Pitt doubles the tax in 1801. Alterations in 1803. The yield in 1815. Parnell's observations on the tax. Report of the commissioners of excise inquiry. The yield in 1859. Gladstone proposes, in 1860, to repeal the tax. The bill is rejected in the lords. The tax repealed in 1861. The yield.

THE *papyrus* of Egypt, which formed the basis of the manufacture of the first paper known in Europe, fell out of use a little before the time of Eustathius, who wrote towards the close of the twelfth century; and a paper made from *cotton*, on which an ancient manuscript of as early a date as 1050 is written, superseded the *papyrus* paper. Infinite trouble and research have been devoted to the investigation of the origin of this manufacture, but without result. It is supposed, however, that, as cotton paper was used in China long before its introduction into Europe, the manufacture may have been learnt from the Chinese by the Arabians during their conquests in Tartary, and through the Arabians have become known in Europe.

Paper made from cotton was in its turn superseded

by paper made from *linen*; of which the first known specimen dates no further back than the death of St. Louis in 1270. At the commencement of the fourteenth century paper mills were in operation in Tuscany, and in 1390 a mill was established at Nuremberg; but there is no historical trace of the existence of any mill in England until about 1490, when, in a book printed by Caxton, mention is made of the mill of John Tate, which probably was the same as that to which reference is made in an entry in the Household Book of Henry VII., dated 1499, of 6s. 8d. as 'geven in rewarde to Tate at the mylne.'

Shakspeare, it is true, in the second part of the play of Henry VI., makes John Cade allude, in his accusation of lord Say and Sele, to a paper mill: 'Thou hast traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm in erecting a grammar school; and whereas, before, our forefathers had no other books but the score and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be used; and contrary to the king, his crown and dignity, thou hast built a paper mill.'¹ But the paper mill at Dartford, in the immediate neighbourhood of the scene of Jack Cade's rebellion, was erected no earlier than 1588, by sir John Spielman, a German, who was knighted for his new paper mill by the queen, and had a monopoly granted to him 'for the sole gathering, for ten years, of all rags, &c., necessary for the making of such paper.'

The manufacture of paper thus introduced into England did not prosper, and we continued, for the

¹ Act IV. Scene vii.

next hundred years to be behind many continental nations in the manufacture, and derived our supply mainly from Holland, Germany, Genoa and France. Ordinary paper formed one of the commodities most profitable to France, imported from thence into England;¹ and workmen from that country, driven into ours by the persecution that followed after the revocation, in 1685, of Henri IV.'s edict of Nantes, were practically the first to establish *our manufacture of paper*. Hardly any paper but brown paper was, however, made in England before the Revolution.²

After the Revolution, on the outbreak of the war with France, we prohibited the importation of French manufactures; and in 1690, a native manufacture of white paper commenced, which before many years had passed, showed a considerable improvement in most of its branches. 'We had not come up to the French perfection, and never could,' Davenant adds, 'without a linen manufacture of our own.' But the import of French paper, which had been valued in 1669 at 50,710*l.*, amounted in the whole, during the four years of peace, 1698-1702, to but 7,584*l.*

A tax imposed upon this new manufacture, in 1712, in the war of the Spanish Succession, was accompanied with practically prohibitory duties on foreign paper, and extended not only to paper, but also to paste-board, mill-board and scale-board.³ The duties were charged by the ream at rates varying according to the

¹ Davenant, Report, Public Accounts, Works, v. 355. The others were linen, wine, brandies, wrought silk, and kid-skins.

² McCulloch, Comm. Dict., quoting British Merchant, ii. 206.

³ 10 Anne, c. 19.

different kinds of paper, which for this purpose was divided into several classes.

The duties were considerably increased from August 1714;¹ but the tax was not, at first, of any great importance as regards the yield. Nor, indeed, did paper-making in England reach any great degree of perfection until about 1760–5, when James Whatman, having acquired considerable information on the subject while travelling in the suite of the British ambassador to Holland, where the best papers were still made, established his manufacture at Maidstone.

In 1793 the net yield was, in England, 77,490*l.*; and in Scotland, 5,589*l.*; forming a total for Great Britain of 83,079*l.*

About the beginning of the century, an improvement in machinery, invented in France by Louis Robert, a clerk in the house of m. Didot, was introduced into England through mr. Gamble, brother-in-law to m. Didot, with the assistance of messrs. Fourdrinier. This formed the basis of improvements which resulted in an enormous development of the manufacture. In 1801 Pitt doubled the tax,² to produce an additional 135,000*l.*; and the yield, which had been, in England 165,000*l.* in 1800, rose to 268,000*l.* in 1802.

In 1803 the classes of paper were reduced to two, for which the rates were 3*d.* and 1½*d.* the pound. On paper of the first class, which included that used for writing and for printing, the duty of 3*d.* amounted to a tax varying from 20 per cent. on the finest sort to 100 per cent. on that of the coarsest description; and

¹ 12 Anne, stat. 2, c. 9.

² 41 Geo. III. c. 8.

in order to obtain the advantage of the lower rate of charge, $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ the pound, it was necessary that paper should be manufactured wholly of tarred ropes without the tar being previously extracted. The duties on glazed paper, mill-board and scale-board, and paste-board were charged at so much the cwt.

In 1815 the yield in Great Britain, deducting for exports, was 476,019*l.* The peace and the introduction of the use of iron cables considerably raised the price of tarred ropes. But the manufacturer was still required, if he would avoid the higher duty, that is to say, 14*s.* per cwt. increase, which would ruin him, to have recourse to the statutory tarred ropes.

Parnell in his work on 'Financial Reform' thus stated the case against the paper duty:—

'The duty on the paper manufacture varies from 50 to 150 per cent. on the different kinds of paper. The laws for regulating the collection of it are so scattered and confused as to render it almost impossible for a manufacturer to have a perfect knowledge of them. The number and amount of the penalties to which he is subject are quite out of all proportion to the frauds he may, by possibility, be guilty of. While the power of administering these laws and levying these penalties is unlimited. The duty on paper has an injurious effect on many other trades besides that of the paper-maker. The limited consumption which it occasions injures the makers of machinery, type-founders, ink-makers, printers, engravers, booksellers, bookbinders, stationers, paper-stainers, and several other trades. But the greatest evil of all is the high price of books which it

gives rise to. This places a great obstacle in the way of the progress of knowledge, of useful and necessary arts, and of sober and industrious habits. Books carry the productions of the human mind over the whole world, and may be truly called the raw materials of every kind of science and art, and of all social improvement.'

In June, 1835, the commissioners of excise enquiry made an elaborate Report on the subject of this tax, which contains in the appendix a great deal of interesting information about paper-making. In their report they suggested: That the two existing classes of paper should be consolidated into one, and the duty be fixed at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound on all paper; that paste-board and mill-board should be consolidated into one class; that the penalties should be revised; the law consolidated; the survey on tea-trays, bottle-stands, and articles of that description, discontinued; and the duty on stained paper repealed and the survey abolished.

In 1839 many of the recommendations embodied in this report were carried into effect. The duty was reduced for all varieties of paper to $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ the pound, and the law was consolidated and amended.¹

In June 1858, when Milner Gibson brought forward in the house of commons a resolution condemnatory of the tax as a permanent source of revenue, it was accepted by Disraeli, the chancellor of the exchequer, and the House.

The yield, in 1859, was 1,429,491*l.*; and in the next year, the repeal of the tax formed part of the

¹ 2 & 3 Vict. c. 23.

Budget proposals of Mr. Gladstone. Adverting first to the condemnation of the tax by the House, he pointed afterwards to the radical objections to a tax which, at a uniform rate, pressed unfairly on an article varying in value, particularly in the case of dear and cheap books, and to the advantages to cheap literature and a cheap press which would result from the repeal. Skill and enterprise, he added, were obstructed by the regulations which prevented the use of various materials. An increased demand for labour would follow on the repeal of a tax on a trade capable of indefinite expansion; for paper might be applied to an enormous variety of purposes, and was 'largely used by anatomical machinists to make artificial limbs; by telescope-makers, by boot and shoe makers, by cap manufacturers for the foundation of caps and hats, forming all the peaks and many of the tops which look like leather; by china and porcelain manufacturers, by coach-makers, by comb-makers, by doll-makers (most dolls being made of a material into the composition of which paper enters), by ship-builders; again, in making optical instruments, in pictures and looking-glasses, in portmanteaus, in Sheffield goods and in tea-pots. It was invidious to maintain this duty when every other duty of the same class had been swept away. Lastly, it was hardly possible to continue to administer the duty without public scandal and discredit, so difficult had it proved to be to define what is paper and what is not paper—what are sheets of fibrous substance, and what are not.¹

¹ Financial Statements, p. 173.

The Bill for the repeal of the tax passed through the house of commons, but was rejected by the house of lords.

The Lords cannot materially alter, though they may reject, a money Bill; and this interference of their House with the absoluteness of the Commons in money matters was avoided in the following year by presenting the proposals for the alteration of taxation for the year, including a repeal of this tax, in the shape of a single Bill. This passed through both Houses, and the tax was repealed from October 1, 1861.¹

The yield at this date was about 1,350,000*l*.

In Ireland the duties were originally charged by a rate on the machinery employed in the manufacture. They were assimilated to the duties for the rest of the United Kingdom in 1824.

Licenses to Papermakers.

1784—1870.

A duty on licenses for makers of paper, first imposed in Great Britain, in Pitt's Licenses Act of 1784, at 2*l*.; afterwards increased, in 1815, by Vansittart, to 4*l*.; and subsequently to 1840 charged with Baring's additional 5 per cent., was retained, after the repeal of the duty on paper, until 1870, when it was repealed.²

¹ 24 & 25 Vict. c. 20, s. 4.

² 33 & 34 Vict. c. 32.

SECTION VIII.

THE TAX ON PRINTED GOODS : SILKS, FOREIGN CALICOES, LINEN, MIXED STUFFS, AND THE ' BRITISH MANUFACTORY,' COTTON GOODS.

{1712—1831.

The tax imposed in 1712. Introduction of calico-printing into England. Its extension after the prohibition of the use of foreign printed calicoes. The rates in 1712 for silks, calicoes, linen and mixed stuffs. The rates raised in 1714. Prohibition, in 1722, of the use in this country of calicoes printed here. Stuffs of linen yarn and cotton-wool mixed declared not to be within the prohibition. Increase in the supplies of cotton to Liverpool. Arkwright's spinning frame. Commencement of 'the British manufactory,' of stuffs wholly of cotton. The new manufacture charged when printed with the lower rate of duty and declared not to be calico. Pitt's attempt to tax printed linens, according to value, and bleached and dyed cotton goods in 1784 and 1785. The duties as imposed in 1787. The yield in 1787 and 1791. Increased supply of cotton from America. Burke's observations on the cotton manufacture, in 1797. The yield in 1808 and 1815. The tax condemned by Poulett Thompson. It is repealed, by Althorp, in 1831. Enormous development of the cotton manufacture.

THIS tax was originally imposed upon silk goods, calicoes, or foreign cotton goods, so termed from Calicut on the Malabar coast from whence they were first imported into this country, linens, and other printed stuffs. It formed one of the trio of taxes on important manufactures imposed, in 1712, to meet the expenses of the war of the Spanish Succession, the others falling upon soap and paper.

At this date calico-printing, an art first introduced

into England in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, had received an impulse in consequence of the prohibition, in 1701, of the wearing or use in England of imported printed calicoes,¹ after which several printing works had sprung into existence.

* The new tax was imposed upon printed silks at the rate of 6*d.* the yard, allowing half a yard for breadth, and at half that rate for silk handkerchiefs; upon printed calicoes, at 3*d.* the yard square; and upon printed linens and stuffs, at 1½*d.* the yard square. Calicoes, linens and fustians dyed throughout of one colour only, and stuffs entirely or the greater part of woollen were exempted.² These duties were doubled from August 2, 1714, making them for printed silks, 1*s.*; printed calicoes, 6*d.*; and printed linens and other stuffs, 3*d.*³

Dec. 25,
1722.

Eight years after this, in order to encourage the manufactures of silk and linen, we prohibited the wearing of British printed calicoes in dress, and the use of them for household furniture—in or about ‘any bed, chair, cushion, window curtain, or other household stuff,’ and thus put an end to calico-printing, except for exportation.⁴

Before long, this prohibition was found to discourage a branch of the ancient fustian manufacture of the kingdom, a manufacture of stuffs made of linen yarn and cotton-wool mixed which, when printed, resembled so nearly the prohibited printed calicoes, that doubts

¹ 11 & 12 Will. III. c. 10. From Sept. 29, 1701.

² 10 Anne, c. 19, s. 60.

³ For silk handkerchiefs, the duty was only raised to 4*d.* 12 Anne, stat. 2, c. 9.

⁴ 7 Geo. I. stat. 1, c. 7, 1721. After Dec. 25, 1722.

arose whether they could legally be worn and used in this country. 'In order to prevent the loss of this manufacture,' printed mixed stuffs of this kind received parliamentary sanction, in 1736, provided the warp was entirely of linen yarn.¹

These stuffs were the nearest approach to cotton goods manufactured in England until the seventh decade of the century, when the trade of printing became established in Lancashire on account of the cheapness of fuel there and the proximity of the textile manufactures. Fresh supplies of cotton to Liverpool gave the manufacturers facilities for extending their business. The 'Spinning Jenny' was invented for thread for weft; but the thread spun had not the fineness and hardness requisite for the longitudinal threads, or warp. Arkwright supplied this deficiency by his spinning frame, and assisted by messrs. Strutt and Need, of Derby, commenced our great manufacture of cotton goods. In this '*new manufacture of stuffs wholly made from raw cotton-wool (chiefly imported from British plantations)*' now set up, many hundreds of poor persons were employed.' But doubts arose whether the cotton goods ought not to be regarded as calicoes, liable, on printing, to the 6*d.* duty, and, when printed, within the prohibition regarding the wearing and use of printed calicoes in this country contained in the Act of 1721. Notwithstanding some opposition, the difficulty was solved, in 1774, by subjecting the new manufacture to the lower or 3*d.* duty, as against 6*d.* for printed calicoes for exportation; and declaring the home-made goods, when printed, not to

1764.

¹ 9 Geo. II. c. 4.

be within the prohibition relating to calicoes ; but in order to mark the distinction between these cotton stuffs and calicoes, in each piece there was to be wove in the warp, in both selvages, through the whole length, three blue stripes, each stripe of one thread only, and every piece of stuff, when printed, was to be stamped, at each end, with an excise stamp, ‘and instead of the word *calico*, which stands for foreign calicoes, each piece was to be marked with the words *British manufactory*.’¹

Pitt, in his first year of office, imposed an additional duty on printed linens, and a new tax upon mixed stuffs (cotton and linen) and cotton stuffs, bleached or dyed, with a license duty for bleachers and dyers, charging the articles with 1*d.* a yard, if under 3*s.* in price, and 2*d.* a yard, if of or over that price ; but this new tax proved impracticable and was almost immediately repealed. The revenue was recouped by additional duties on printed goods, linen, cotton and mixed stuffs. These also were imposed in relation to price ; but the attempt to tax these articles *ad valorem* was not successful,² and eventually the duties on printed goods were imposed, in the consolidation Act of 1787, as follows :—for printed foreign calicoes and muslins, 7*d.* the yard square ; printed linens and stuffs made of cotton or linen mixed with other materials, fustians, velvets, veverets, dimities and other figured stuffs of cotton and other materials or wholly made of cotton-wool wove in Great Britain, 3½*d.* the yard square ; printed stuffs

¹ 14 Geo. III. c. 72.

² Nor was it popular, see *Lounger*, No. 10, with the ladies. ‘I cannot bear him. He does not like us, and the only mark of attention he has ever paid us was imposing an odious burden upon our ruffs and aprons.’

wholly of cotton wool, commonly called the British manufactory, and British muslins, $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ the yard square; printed silks, 1s. $1\frac{3}{4}d.$ the yard, and silk handkerchiefs, $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ ¹

The yield, about 142,000*l.* in 1787, rose to 191,489*l.* in 1791.

Although, in the Act of 1787, mention is made of British muslins, in imitation of those of India, that industry remained undeveloped, in consequence of the very limited supply of cotton fine enough for the purpose, until the last decade of the century, when we obtained, in the 'sea island' cotton of America, a supply of the finest cotton. Now also Eli Whitney's invention of a machine for separating cotton from the seed, rendered available the 'upland' cotton. Enormous quantities of this cotton were soon imported; and the manufactures of English cottons, now termed calicoes, and English muslins were in the full swing of a vigorous youth, in 1797, when Burke notes their development, in his third letter on a Regicide Peace: 'For some time past,' he writes, 'the principal articles of female dress have been muslins and calicoes. Those elegant fabrics of our own looms in the East have lately been imitated at home, with improving success, by the ingenious and enterprising manufacturers of Manchester, Paisley, and Glasgow. At the same time the importation from Bengal has kept pace with the extension of our own dexterity and industry; while the sale of our printed goods, of both kinds, has been with equal steadiness advanced, by the taste and execution of our designers

¹ 24 Geo. III. c. 40; 25, cc. 24, 72; 27, c. 13.

and artists.' And he goes on to say, with regard to our woollens and cottons, that we export them in great and growing quantities.¹

The duties were re-enacted, at the previous rates, in the consolidation Act of 1803,² and in that year, the net yield was 456,333*l.*, viz. for England, 361,568*l.*, and for Scotland, 94,765*l.*; but the gross amount of duty charged was 801,488*l.*, the difference being due to duty repaid for exported goods. In 1815, when the net receipt was, in England, 280,482*l.*, and in Scotland 107,317*l.*, in all, 387,799*l.*, or according to another account, 388,076*l.* after deducting for exports, the amount deducted for exports was no less than 910,815*l.*

'It is a matter of surprise to me,' said Poulett Thompson, in his speech in the house of commons on the revision of taxes, in March, 1830, 'that this most impolitic impost—the tax on printed calicoes—should have been allowed to continue, especially when it was declared by the Committee of 1818 to be partial and oppressive, and that its repeal was most desirable. Who, indeed, can examine it and not feel the truth of this observation? Is it credible that, in order to raise a nett revenue of 599,669*l.*, a gross tax should be imposed of 2,019,737*l.* and yet this was the return according to the paper on your table for 1828! And these figures are far from showing us the real cost of this tax. That must be taken upon the gross produce; and, supposing the rate of collection for the excise to be 5 per cent., which is less than it really is, you have a cost of 20 per cent. on the nett produce of this tax,

¹ See Vol. ii. Appendix, p. 423.

² 43 Geo. III. c. 60.

for charges. In addition to this, from all the inquiry I have been able to make, the increased cost to the manufacturer is fully 5 per cent. upon the whole quantity made, so that you have thus two sums, of each 100,000*l.*, levied on the public for the sake of creating a revenue of 600,000*l.* But the revenue is again in this case far from being the measure of the injury you inflict. The inequality of the tax constitutes its chief objection. The duty is levied *upon the square yard*, at 3½*d.* per yard. Thus the piece of calico which sells for 6*d.*, duty paid, contributes equally with that which is worth 5*s.* per yard. You levy an onerous and oppressive tax of 100 or 150 per cent. upon the poor, who are the purchasers of inferior cottons; while the rich, who buy only the finest kinds, pay but 10 or 15 per cent.’¹

For these reasons the tax was selected for repeal, by Althorp, in his Budget of 1831, when he stated that only 500,000*l.* of the 2,000,000*l.* actually levied went into the exchequer. In short, about three-fourths of the 8,500,000 pieces manufactured were exported.²

By this time, to such an extent had the cotton manufacture developed in England, that whereas Child, writing in 1694, said: ‘that wool is commonly the foundation of English riches I have not heard denied by any,’ Sydney Smith, writing in 1843, in his Letters on American debts, said, as truly: ‘the great object for which the Anglo-Saxon race appears to have been created, is the making of calico.’³

¹ Life of lord Sydenham, p. 413.

² The tax was repealed from March 1, 1831. 1 Will. IV. c. 17.

³ Letter II. Works, iii. 476.

SECTION IX.

THE TAX ON NEWSPAPERS.

1712—1855.

Origin of newspapers. The news letter. The 'Weekely Newes' printed in 1622. Newspapers in the civil war. A licenser of the press appointed after the Restoration, and abolished in 1693. Commencement of journalism in 1703. The essayists. The first tax on newspapers imposed in 1712. Its effect. The yield in 1749. The tax increased in the Seven Years' War. List of newspapers in the 'Vicar of Wakefield.' Parliamentary news after 1771. The tax increased in the war of American Independence. The 'Times' published in 1788. The tax increased by Pitt in 1789 and in 1797. The yield in 1815. Newspapers of any size allowed in 1825. The newspaper given to the middle classes in 1836. The yield in 1837 and 1852. The tax repealed in 1855. The yield.

IN the well-known history of newspapers in England, their origin is traced to the news-letters of the times of queen Elizabeth, written in order to meet the anxious demand for news at the time of the Spanish Armada.

The news-letter continued in use down to the time of the Thirty Years' War, when the more extended demand for news induced Nathaniel Butter, the chief news-letter writer, to call in aid the printing press, and, in lieu of issuing written news-letters, to print and publish 'the certaine news of the present week' in a weekly newspaper, or 'Avisoe;' and this 'Weekely Newes,' first published in 1622, was inscribed with the arms of the king of Bohemia.

The civil war brought into existence a number

of newspapers, royal and parliamentary, to give an account of current events from the cavalier, or from the round-head, point of view ; the 'Court Mercury,' first published at Oxford, where the court resided in 1642, ranking as the best known of the royalist newspapers, while the 'Mercurius Britannicus' of Marchmont Needham was the most successful of those on the side of the parliament. If we take Needham's sneer, 'Will ye buy any three-halfpenny victories?' as an allusion to price, the cost of a newspaper was not at this date very considerable.

During the times of the commonwealth, several newspapers were started, with varying success ; and after the Restoration, in 1663, the first newspaper of any real importance, the 'Public Intelligence,' came into existence. But a censorship of the press, established in the same year, effectually checked the further development of newspapers, and almost limited public news and intelligence to official sources. Henceforth for many years, if we except one or two Mercuries of second rate importance, the 'London Gazette,' from the Venetian 'Gazette'—penny paper, first published by authority in November, 1665, at Oxford, where the court resided in consequence of the great plague in London—and the 'Observator,' first published in 1680, by Lestrange, a newspaper of Roman Catholic views, and equally under government direction with the 'London Gazette,' had a practical monopoly of the newsmarket.

The press had, however, enjoyed a considerable amount of freedom for many years before 1693, when, in May, the heavy hand of the licenser of the press was

removed. A plenteous crop of newspapers soon sprang into existence. The printers had a busy time during the period covered by the victories of Marlborough and Eugene. Seventeen newspapers were now published three times a week; and as the news-letter had been brought into existence by the Spanish Armada, and the newspaper by the Thirty Years' War, so to the war of the Spanish Succession was due the commencement of journalism, in the publication of the 'Daily Courant' in 1703.

The ascendancy acquired by party feeling at this date was in nothing more evident than in the contents of the newspapers. War *à outrance* was proclaimed on both sides, and the contest was carried on with all the power and bitterness to be expected when such champions are engaged as Swift, Prior and Bolingbroke, and Defoe, Addison and Steele.

With a view to afford reading of a less exciting kind than that contained in newspapers representing only the stormy contests of the political arena, Steele, in 1709, started the 'Tatler,' the first of the essayists, and the 'Tatler' was succeeded in 1711 by the 'Spectator.' This new essayist gives, in an article on the manufacture of paper, the names of several of the contemporary newspapers: 'Stained with news or politics, the sheets fly through the town in "Postmen," "Postboys," "Daily Courants," "Reviews," "Medleys," and "Examiners."' ¹

The torrents of newspapers now poured into London, and the virulence of party invective called for

¹ No. 367.

some restriction, and, for political purposes, as much as for a fiscal purpose, in 1712, a tax was imposed upon newspapers, to commence from August 1. ‘This is the day,’ writes Addison, in the ‘Spectator,’ ‘on which many of our authors will probably publish their last words. I am afraid that few of our weekly historians, who are men that above all others delight in war, will be able to subsist under the weight of a stamp and an approaching peace. A sheet of blank paper that must have this new “inprimatur” clapped upon it before it is qualified to communicate anything to the public, will make its way in the world but very heavily.’¹ This prediction proved to be right. The tax, collected by means of stamps, the duties being, for half a sheet, $\frac{1}{2}d.$, and for a whole sheet, $1d.$,² proved fatal to many of the newspapers of the day:—‘The “Observator” is fallen,’ writes Swift; ‘the “Medleys” are jumbled together with the “Flying Post”; the “Examiner” is deadly sick; the “Spectator” keeps up and doubles its price;’ and the occupation of many a paper-warrior was soon gone:—

Indeed the paper stamp
Did very much his genius cramp;
And since he could not spend his fire,
He now intended to retire.

While for a long time afterwards, the tax, combined with that on advertisements, which was imposed at the same time, and that on paper, proved a heavy drag on the advance of journalism.

No account of the yield can be rendered before 1749, in which year it was, for Great Britain, 16,450*l.*

¹ No. 445, July 31, 1712.

² 10 Anne, c. 19.

The most famous newspaper that came into existence in the interval between the date of the imposition of the tax and 1757, when it was first increased, was the 'Public Advertiser,' in which, subsequently, 1769–72, the famous Letters of Junius were published.

The Seven Years' War gave a fresh impulse to journalism; and Legge, in 1757, increased the duties from $\frac{1}{2}d.$ and $1d.$ to $1d.$ and $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; ¹ at which rates the tax produced, from 1758 to 1763, a steady yield of about 43,000*l.*

The 'North Briton,' famous in connection with the proceedings against Wilkes, the editor, first appeared in 1762. While a list of many other of the political newspapers of the day, 1763, is supplied in the 'Vicar of Wakefield,' where the political butler, when, in his master's absence, entertaining the vicar, states: 'Now I read all the politics that come out. The "Daily," the "Public," the "Ledger," the "Chronicle," the "London Evening," the "Whitehall Evening," the seventeen magazines, and the two reviews.' The 'Monitor' and the 'Auditor,' of brief existence, had before been mentioned.

In 1770, the 'Morning Chronicle,' whose dirge has only recently been sung by Dr. Mackay, came into existence, and in 1772, the 'Morning Post.'

Meanwhile, in 1771, the last attempt ever made to prevent parliamentary reporting had failed, so that henceforth the newspapers were able to add to their attractions an important column of *parliamentary news*.

In 1776, when the War of American Independence

¹ 30 Geo. II. c. 19.

had begun, North followed the lead of Legge, and added another $\frac{1}{2}d.$, for half-sheets and whole sheets, raising the duties to $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ and $2d.$,¹ with what fiscal result it is impossible to state; for no account can be rendered of the produce of the tax from 1764 to 1794.

The next increase in the tax was not due to war, but was made by Pitt, in full peace, in 1789, the year after the 'London Daily Universal Register,' established three years previously, had merged in the 'Times.' In his opinion, newspapers ranked among articles of luxury, and, as such, were fit subjects for additional taxation; and in that view, when compelled to repeal his tax on shops, he partly recouped the revenue by an additional $\frac{1}{2}d.$ on newspapers, to produce 28,000*l.* This measure, which raised the duty for half-sheets to $2d.$, and that for whole sheets to $2\frac{1}{2}d.$, did not pass without considerable opposition.

Lastly, in 1797, when sorely pressed for additional revenue for the purposes of the war with France, Pitt raised the tax by an additional $1\frac{1}{2}d.$, making the duties $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ for half-sheets, and $4d.$ for whole sheets.²

In 1804 the duty was imposed in Great Britain at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ for every half-sheet or single sheet not exceeding 32 inches by 22, with an additional $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ for every half-sheet additional to a sheet of that size;³ and in 1815, the last year of the war, the tax was raised, by Vansittart, to $4d.$ for every sheet, half-sheet, or other piece of paper of which the newspaper consisted.⁴

¹ 16 Geo. III. c. 34.

² 29 Geo. III. c. 50; 37, c. 90.

³ 44 Geo. III. c. 98, sched. A.

⁴ 55 Geo. III. c. 185.

The yield, in 1815, was in England, 363,414*l.*, and in Scotland, 20,282*l.*, forming a total of 383,696*l.* for Great Britain ; and that for the following year was 367,506*l.*

In 1825, Robinson, removing the restriction which prevented the printing of newspapers upon paper exceeding 32 inches by 22, allowed them to be printed upon paper of any size, with 4*d.* per sheet for tax. Supplements containing advertisements only, and printed papers containing only, or principally, advertisements and no news, were charged with 2*d.* only.¹

In 1831, the yield was over 500,000*l.* in England, and 52,000*l.* in Scotland. In this year, a reduction of this tax and that on advertisements, at an estimated loss of 100,000*l.* a year, formed part of Althorp's original Budget, but eventually was not carried into effect ; and when, in 1833, he had a considerable surplus available for the reduction of taxation, he stated that his mind had altered as regards newspapers, and that other claims were more pressing. It remained, therefore, for Spring Rice to give the newspaper to the middle classes. In 1836, simultaneously with a reduction of the duty on paper, he reduced this tax to 1*d.* the sheet, with an additional $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* if the sheet contained on one side a superficies over 1,530 and not exceeding 2,295 inches, and an additional 1*d.* if it exceeded 2,295 inches, and a charge of $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* per sheet for supplements.² The result was a decline of over 300,000*l.* in the yield for Great Britain ; but the reduction in the price of newspapers, from 7*d.* to 5*d.*,

¹ 6 Geo. IV. c. 119.

² 6 & 7 Will. IV. c. 76.

consequent upon this measure, gave rise to a great demand for the old or established papers, and so great was the increase in the number of newspapers, during the next fifteen years, that the yield rose from 223,425*l.* for the United Kingdom,¹ in 1837, to 421,812*l.* in 1852.

In 1853, by the Act that repealed the tax on advertisements, the 1*d.* duty on newspapers was allowed to cover a sheet containing a superficies not exceeding 2,295 inches, and the duty was reduced for newspapers with supplements of a certain size ;² but in the next year, a resolution of Milner Gibson's, carried in the house of commons, regarding the state of the law relating to the periodical press, necessarily again brought the subject of the newspaper duty under consideration with the government. The resignation of office by Gladstone, left the question to be settled by his successor, and in 1855 the tax was practically repealed, by Cornwall Lewis,³ who retained it only for newspapers for which it was desired to have certain facilities of postage.

The yield in that year was 488,010*l.*

¹ After 1836, the rates were uniform throughout the kingdom. The yield in Ireland, in 1837, was 21,756*l.*

² 16 & 17 Vict. c. 63.

³ 18 & 19 Vict. c. 27.

SECTION X.

THE TAX ON ADVERTISEMENTS IN NEWSPAPERS AND
PERIODICALS.

1712—1853.

The first advertisement inserted in a newspaper, 1650. A tax imposed in 1712. The duty increased in 1757, in 1789 and in 1797. Scheme of the tax. The yield in 1815. Report of lord Wallace's commission in 1826. The yield in 1832. The duty reduced by Althorp. Milner Gibson attempts to force Gladstone's hand. Gladstone's proposals. The tax repealed.

A TAX on advertisements in newspapers and periodicals tends to check business, and is, therefore, one of the worst kind of taxes that can be imposed in a great trading community.

The origin and development of advertising in England is full of interest from many points of view, and connects itself easily with the history of our development as a trading nation and the history of our manners and customs. But for present purposes it is sufficient to state that the first advertisement inserted in a newspaper is said to be one that appears in a newspaper entitled 'Several Proceedings in Parliament,' under date Nov. 28—Dec. 5, 1650. It relates to some horses that had been stolen, and offers a reward, for information where they are, of 20s. for each horse.¹

This method of giving publicity to demand and

¹ Sampson, Hist. Adv.

supply, growing with the growth of newspapers, had attained a considerable development before the close of the reign of queen Anne. In 1712, the advertisements in the 'Daily Courant' averaged in number nine or ten; and, to go for a moment into particulars, many of the advertisements of the time had reference to the rivalry between 'port' and 'claret,' and were appeals by those who had much claret to sell, or praises of the 'new natural Oporto wines.' But in this year, when the tax on newspapers was imposed, 1s. was charged upon every advertisement in every newspaper published weekly or oftener, and the immediate effect was to cause a decline in the number of advertisements, the 'Daily Courant' appearing several times without a single advertisement.

In 1757, when Legge raised the duty for newspapers, he imposed an additional 1s. on advertisements in newspapers, and 2s. on every advertisement in any pamphlet or periodical work published yearly, monthly, or at any interval of time exceeding a week.¹ But as new wants arose and new inventions multiplied, the advantages of publicity became more apparent day by day, and, notwithstanding the taxation to which it was subjected, the practice of advertising increased to such a degree that Johnson, when, in an article in the 'Idler,' in 1759, he passed under review, with some raillery, the usual methods of advertising employed at the time, had reason to add that 'the trade of advertising is now so near perfection that it is not easy to propose any improvement.'

¹ 30 Geo. II. c. 19.

North did not touch the tax; but Pitt, who regarded an advertisement in a newspaper as an integral part of the taxable luxury he considered a newspaper to be, when, in 1789, on giving up his tax on shops, he imposed the additional halfpenny on newspapers, increased this duty by 6*d.*, making it 2*s.* 6*d.*; ¹ and, in 1797, when he again increased the duty on newspapers, this duty was raised to 3*s.* Before the end of the war, the duty had become 3*s.* 6*d.* for every advertisement. ²

The scheme of the tax was to require the printer of a newspaper in which advertisements were inserted, to give security for the due payment of the duty. Two prints of every newspaper printed were sent to the Stamp Office. On one of these the duty was assessed and marked by the proper officer, after counting the advertisements. An entry of the amount thus marked, made in the book of the registrar, raised a charge of duty. And an account of charges, made up every month, was sent to the printer of the paper, who was required to pay the amount within ten days.

The yield, in 1815, was 125,000*l.*

In 1826, lord Wallace's commission, in their report on the revenue from stamps, directed attention, under the heading relating to this tax, to the operation of the uniform charge of 3*s.* 6*d.* for every advertisement. This charge, they pointed out, pressed heavily on persons in humble situations in life, such as servants out of place, while persons in the more opulent class, by whom advertisements relating to valuable property were in-

¹ 29 Geo. III. c. 50.

² 55 Geo. III. c. 185.

serted, hardly felt the duty. Considerable relief and encouragement would be afforded to the lower classes of advertisers, and at the same time an important addition would probably be made to the general receipt under this head of revenue, if, in lieu of the uniform rate, a progressive scale of charge were adopted, commencing with a charge of 2*s.* for advertisements not exceeding five lines, and proceeding, by four steps, to a charge of 10*s.* for advertisements of about twenty lines.

In 1832 the yield in the United Kingdom was 170,649*l.*; and Althorp, declining to adopt the arbitrary scale according to length recommended by lord Wallace's commission, reduced the duty to 1*s.* 6*d.*¹

In 1836, by the Act which reduced the duty on newspapers, the law relating to the duty on advertisements was amended.² The tax, though now universally condemned, lasted seventeen years longer. On April 4, 1853, Milner Gibson, an inveterate foe to this tax and that on newspapers, tried to force the hand of the chancellor of the exchequer before Budget-day by a motion condemnatory of the tax. Gladstone had matured a plan for dealing with the tax, but declined to speak on the subject, for the excellent reason which he gave in his financial statement on the 14th of the month: 'that if the executive government is, with any advantage to the country, ordinarily to discharge the function of the initiative with respect to finance, it is absolutely necessary that the strictest silence should be observed, not

¹ 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 76.

² 6 & 7 Will. IV. c. 76.

in contempt of pressure, but yet, notwithstanding all pressure, till the time arrives when the views of the Government can be regularly and comprehensively disclosed.'

Gladstone's proposal, which was to reduce the duty to 6*d.*, and repeal the duties of 1*d.* and $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* on supplements to newspapers used solely for printing advertisements, involved an estimated loss to the revenue of 160,000*l.*, in lieu of the larger sum of 181,000*l.* involved in the total repeal of the tax. But in the result, the House decided to give up the additional amount, and get rid of the tax, which, accordingly, was repealed in the same year.¹

¹ 16 & 17 Vict. c. 63. s. 5.

SECTION XI.

THE TAX ON STARCH.

1712—1834.

Commencement of the use of starch. The yellow starch. Starch taxed under the Commonwealth. A tax imposed in 1712, and doubled in 1714. Increased in 1783 and 1787. The yield in 1793 and 1815. Objections to the tax. It is repealed in 1834. The yield.

FULLER'S earth appears to have been the equivalent for starch in the time of Chaucer, who tells us that the wife of Bath's frill, stiffened therewith, weighed about half a pound ; and starch was introduced into this country from Flanders in 1553, the year of the accession of queen Mary. It was used for the ruff which formed so remarkable a feature of dress in the time of Elizabeth, and yellow was the fashionable colour, until the appearance of Mrs. Turner on the scaffold in an enormous starched yellow ruff, after which that colour went out of fashion, and starch of a whiter colour was used.¹

In Holland, where it had been taxed since 1596,² this article had produced no inconsiderable amount of revenue ; and in England, under the commonwealth excise, starch was taxed, at the rate of 1s. the cwt., to be paid by the first buyer.

¹ At the beginning of the seventeenth century the use of starch was widely diffused ; even carmen had ' got into the yellow starch.'

² Motley, *United Netherlands*, iii. 377.

Subsequently, the manufacture was again subjected to taxation in 1712, in the war of the Spanish Succession, and the duty, 1*d.* the lb., was doubled in 1714.¹

Increased in 1783 and again in 1787, when the duty amounted to 3¼*d.* the lb., the tax produced, in 1793, in Great Britain, 95,054*l.* net. In 1803, the yield had decreased to about 60,000*l.*; and in 1815, to 47,000*l.*

The tax was open to many objections: 1. As a check on the consumption of a useful article of manufacture, it lessened the employment of capital and labour. 2. It operated as a check on the habit of cleanliness among the poor. For the Brummels of the day, with their bundles of morning 'failures' in starched cravats, were not the only persons who paid this tax. The poorer classes delighted in the luxury of a clean shirt; and when linen was the material used for shirts, starch was an essential to anything like a decent appearance on Sunday. 3. An elaborate code of provisions regulated every part of the process of the manufacture, down to the skimming of the water and the stirring of the fire, and fettered and interrupted the manufacturers in their operations; having the effect of adding 10 per cent. to the cost of the starch in addition to the duty.

The tax continued in force until 1834, when, on the advice of the commissioners of excise inquiry, in their eighth report, it was repealed, by Althorp.²

At that date it produced, in England, 87,524*l.*; and in Scotland, 2,529*l.*; forming a total (net produce) for Great Britain of 90,053*l.*

¹ From Aug. 2, 1714. 12 Anne, st. 2, c. 9, s. 7.

² 4 & 5 Will. IV. c. 77.

SECTION XII.

THE TAX ON PROPRIETARY MEDICINES.

1783—1877.

Great Britain.

Letters patent for a 'nostrum.' Tax on quack medicines imposed in 1783. The tax recast, in 1785, by Pitt. The yield in 1800. The tax increased and secured in 1802. Exemption of soda and potash waters in 1833. The yield. Effect of the cholera on the yield. The principal markets for these medicines.

THIS tax touches only a limited class of medicinal preparations, usually termed 'patent medicines,' a term correct enough when the tax was imposed, though now, when medicines sold under letters patent are almost unknown, obsolete and misleading. The medicines subject to duty are more correctly described as 'PROPRIETARY MEDICINES.'

The excessive consumption of meat and beer, the thick dress, and the absence of ventilation in the dwellings of our forefathers, are historical. Filled with meat and beer, encased in leather and wool, and living in houses where the window, no longer lattice, but filled in with glass, had lost all right to the appellation of 'wind-door,' they felt a craving for medicine, mainly for purposes of depletion, which, not satisfied by recourse to the ordinary apothecary and the prescriptions of members of the College of Physicians, called into existence a number of preparations from other hands.

Specifics for every malady to which the human frame is liable cropped up without end, some useful, others hurtful; but one and all ‘puffed’ in an exaggerated manner by those who recommended them. These puffs afforded an abundant supply of materials for ridicule in squibs, pamphlets and caricatures, about the middle of the eighteenth century; and the practice was for the inventor of a new medicine to obtain letters patent from the king for the exclusive privilege to dose the public in his particular manner: hence the term *Patent medicine*, and also, by relation to the monopoly, the term *Nostrum*, Lat., that which is ‘our own.’ But the opponents of patent medicines termed them quack medicines and the vendors of them shortly ‘quacks.’

In the interests of the public, the qualified practitioners and the revenue, lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer in the Fox and North Coalition ministry, imposed, in 1783, a tax on ‘quack medicines,’ together with an annual license duty on persons selling medicines, except such as had served a regular apprenticeship to any surgeon, apothecary, druggist or chemist, to cost, for residents in ‘London or Westminster or within the limits of the penny post,’ 1*l.*; and in any other part of Great Britain, 5*s.* The duty on medicines was imposed upon every inclosure—‘box, packet, bottle, or phial or other inclosure’—of any medicine uttered or sold by any person licensed under the Act or under letters patent, at the following rates:—Under the price of 2*s.* 6*d.*, 3*d.*; 2*s.* 6*d.* and under 5*s.*, 6*d.*; and 5*s.* and upwards, 1*s.* A stamped label was to be affixed to every inclosure of medicine sold,

The license duties, reimposed so as to include Edinburgh under the higher rate, were charged upon all persons in Great Britain who sold any medicine subject to the duty, including all vendors under letters patent.¹

No account can be rendered of the yield prior to 1800, in which year it was, in England, 13,895*l.*, and in Scotland, 77*l.*

The duties were evaded to a considerable extent, and, in 1802, in order to make effectual provision for better collecting them, a further alteration was made in the tax.² Hitherto payable in respect of the medicines sold, it was now charged on the ‘owners and proprietors, or makers and compounders, or original and first vendors of the medicines, in respect of the articles, *before they were sold or delivered out of their custody for sale*, either wholesale or retail, either for foreign or home consumption or otherwise, and before they were exposed to sale, or kept ready for sale and not in bulk, in any shop, house, or other place of that description.’

The duties were increased, by reference to the value of the ‘inclosure’ of medicine and its contents, as follows :—

						<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Not exceeding 1 <i>s.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	0	1½
Exceeding 1 <i>s.</i> and not exceeding 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	0	3
„ 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	„	„	4 <i>s.</i>	.	.	0	6
„ 4 <i>s.</i>	„	„	10 <i>s.</i>	.	.	1	0
„ 10 <i>s.</i>	„	„	20 <i>s.</i>	.	.	2	0
„ 20 <i>s.</i>	„	„	30 <i>s.</i>	.	.	3	0
„ 30 <i>s.</i>	„	„	50 <i>s.</i>	.	.	10	0
„ 50 <i>s.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	20	0

¹ 25 Geo. III. c. 79.

² 42 Geo. III. c. 56.

At the same time, the license duties were extended to the owners, proprietors, makers and compounders of medicines, as well as persons selling or keeping them ready for sale, and were charged at the following rates :—For residents in (1) London, Westminster, Southwark, or within the limits of the twopenny post, or Edinburgh, 2*l.*; (2) any city, borough, or town corporate, or Manchester, Birmingham, or Sheffield, 10*s.*; (3) any other part of Great Britain, 5*s.*

The duties on the medicines, as subsequently reimposed in the general stamp Act of 1804, are in force at the present day; but on several occasions a new schedule of the names of medicines, compiled in communication with the largest proprietors, has been substituted for the older schedule,¹ the proprietors being willing enough to promote this statutory advertisement of their goods. The last is in an Act of 1812. In previous schedules, all foreign medicines, except drugs, had formed a separate item of charge, at the head of the schedule; in this schedule, the item *Foreign medicines of all kinds, except drugs*, was placed, in the schedule, between Foredyce's pills and Fothergill's pills. Among the items in the schedule are the following :—Arquebusade water; Eau de cologne; Lozenges, ginger; Lozenges, peppermint; and 'Waters viz., all artificial mineral waters, and all waters impregnated with soda or mineral alkali, or with carbonic acid gas, and all compositions in a liquid or solid state to be used for the purpose of compounding or making any of the said waters.' Of these items, ginger and pepper-

¹ See 43 Geo. III. c. 73; 44 Geo. III. c. 98; 52 Geo. III. c. 150.

mint lozenges and all other articles of confectionery were exempted in 1815, unless sold avowedly as medicines.¹ Eau de cologne, a perfumed water rather than a medicine, was, on that ground, allowed to be free of duty, under an order of the Treasury; as was also arquebusade water. While all the articles charged under the head of Waters, which were always allowed to be sold, in bottles labelled with the proper stamp, for consumption on the premises by victuallers, confectioners, pastry-cooks, fruiterers and shopkeepers of that description, without any liability to license duty, were, in 1833, specifically exempted from duty.² This release of soda and potash water from the tax cost the revenue about 7,000*l*.

As regards the yield, it was, in 1802, in England, 33,188*l*.; and in Scotland, 117*l*.; and from 1824 to 1829, on an average, about 44,000*l*., for Great Britain. After this it fell off, the only years between 1829 and 1855 in which it exceeded 40,000*l*. being 1832, 1849, and 1853, years of visitations of cholera, when a demand arose for antidotes against the existing epidemic. From 1856, the yield shows a continuous increase. In 1867, it had risen to 59,600*l*.; and in 1872, to 82,721*l*. In 1876, it reached 117,649*l*.; in 1881, 138,679*l*.; and in 1883, 154,439*l*., an increase of over 9,500*l*. on the yield for 1882.

The principal markets for these medicines are to be found in the districts thickly inhabited by miners and manufacturers, such as Wigan, Bolton, Bury (Lancashire), Rochdale, Stockport, Chepstow,

¹ 55 Geo. III. c. 184, s. 54.

² 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 97 s. 20.

Cardiff, Newport (Monmouthshire), and Swansea ; and the artisan and mechanic, guaranteed, by means of the stamp, against spurious imitations, is enabled, as he shifts from place to place, to obtain, with security, the genuine proprietary medicine to which he is accustomed. Even on emigration, persons accustomed to these medicines carry their tastes with them, and continue to be consumers of the quack medicines of their native country, unless indeed unfortunate enough to be caught by any of the numerous imitations made abroad, and exported from Belgium and other parts, with a forged trade-mark and revenue label.

Licenses.

Complaints regarding the duties. Number of licenses in 1870. A uniform duty of 5s. imposed in 1875. Subsequent yield.

The license duties, reimposed in the stamp Act of 1804, at the old rates,¹ operated most unfairly, and the unfairness increased, as, in process of time, the retail sale of proprietary medicines in many provincial towns, in Brighton for instance, surpassed the sale in the neighbourhood of the metropolis and in Edinburgh. Complaints of the unequal pressure of the duties were frequently made to the chancellor of the exchequer by persons paying the 2*l.* duty. On the other hand, many medicine vendors did not object to pay a high duty for the privilege of exclusive sale, and

¹ 44 Geo. III. c. 98, Sched. A. Except that there was a blunder in not inserting the rate of duty to be paid in Scotland by residents in Edinburgh ; an omission which was not rectified until eight years had passed, see 52 Geo. III. c. 150, s. 3.

desired to keep the trade in their own hands. The council of the Pharmaceutical Society, on several occasions, had under consideration the subject of an adjustment of the duties, but did not arrive at any definite expression of opinion. Suggestions of all sorts were made: to equalise the duties; reduce them; augment them; double them; or abolish them altogether. A proposal to impose them at different rates for wholesale and retail business was considered impracticable, on account of the difficulty of defining wholesale and retail trading.

The number of the licenses in 1870 was:—At 2*l.*, 1,439; at 10*s.*, 5,103; and at 5*s.*, 5,797: in all, 12,339.

In 1875, a uniform duty of 5*s.* was imposed for licenses in all parts of Great Britain.¹ The licenses, when granted, continue in force until the following 1st of September. The number taken out in 1876, was in England, 13,957; and in Scotland, 1,065, forming a total for Great Britain of 15,022 licenses; and in 1881, 17,501 for England, and 1,253 for Scotland; forming a total of 18,754 licenses. In 1883, the yield was 4,851*l.*, and 19,404 licenses were taken out.

¹ 38 & 39 Vict. c. 23, s. 8

SECTION XIII.

TAXES ON THE MANUFACTURE OF PLATE, AND LICENSES
TO DEAL IN PLATE.*Introduction.*

THE manufacture of plate has, on two occasions, been subjected to a tax. The first of these taxes, known as Sunderland's plate tax, had reference only to silver plate. Imposed in 1720, it was, in 1758, commuted for the license tax on dealers in gold and silver plate. The other, imposed by Pitt in 1784, and still in existence, has reference to gold as well as silver plate.

Before banking was established in this country as a system, plate afforded a means of investment and accumulation by which the owner at the same time gratified a taste for display; and when the supply of silver increased, in consequence of the discovery of the silver mines of America, and riches were multiplied by increasing trade and commerce, the possession and display of a quantity of plate,

Of silver basons, ewers, cups, candlesticks,
Flagons and beakers, salts, chargers, casting-bottles,¹

became a fashion, not only with the noble and richer classes, but generally throughout the country. Before

¹ *Albumazar*, act 2, scene iii. Pandolpho is also requested by the Astrologer to add—'twere not amiss to add some bowls of gold, so they be massy.'

the civil war, an enormous quantity of plate was in existence in England; and the cupboards of taverns and the tables of the merchants in the metropolis were frequently laden with plate. 'Come to plate,' says a writer of the period, where he mentions the different sorts of drinking vessels in use,—'Come to plate: every tavern can afford you flat bowles, French bowles, prounet cups, beere bowles, and beakers; and private householders in the citie, when they make a feast to entertain their friends, can furnish their cupboards with flagons, tankards, beere-cups, wine bowles, some white, some percell gilt, some gilt all over, some with covers, others without, of divers shapes and qualities.'¹

Much of this plate passed into the melting-pot during the war, and was coined into money for payment of the Cavaliers and Roundheads.

The imitation of French fashions that prevailed at the court of St. James's, on the return of king Charles II. from the court of Versailles, extended to display in articles of plate, in which the expenditure of Louis XIV. and his courtiers had been enormous. A new era in the manufacture commenced. The increase in trade and commerce and the general prosperity of the country, which provided additional means for indulgence in luxuries of this sort, promoted its development, and secured to the manufacture an uninterrupted course of prosperity during the reigns of Charles II. and James II.

This absorption of silver in vessels of plate formed

¹ Heywood's *Philocothonista*, A.D. 1635.

one of the causes of the scarcity of silver in England of which complaints were made in the following reign.

Already, in France, measures had been taken to check the progress of a manufacture which threatened to deprive the Mint of silver for coinage. A tax, imposed in 1672 on manufactured plate, had been doubled in 1674, and, in 1687, Louis XIV. had sent all his most massive plate to the Mint, and ordained by decree that his courtiers should follow his example, setting that fashion for *faïence*, in lieu of silver, for table and house ornaments—‘*se mettre en faïence*’ as it was termed—which soon gave so strong an impulse to the fabriques of Nevers, Rouen and Provence.

Ten years later than this, on the new coinage 1697.
in this country, Montague, by liberal offers of payment, and a prohibition of the use of any plate, except spoons, in taverns and public-houses,¹ drew much of the existing plate into the Mint, whence it issued, from the hands of sir Isaac Newton, in the form of current coin of the realm.

At the same time, with a view to prevent, for the future, the absorption of silver coin in vessels of plate, the goldsmiths and other manufacturers of plate were compelled to make their plate of finer silver than the sterling, or standard for silver coin, by raising the standard for silver plate to 11 oz. 10 dwt. as against 11 oz. 2 dwt., the standard for coin. This measure did not, however, stop the manufacture, and compel us

¹ This rendered useless to the taverner and publican many bowls, cups, and beakers which, hid in secure places, had escaped the melting-pot in the civil war.

to follow the French fashion in adopting porcelain and china as ornaments, in lieu of plate ; before long our dinner-tables and sideboards were resplendent with new and more beautiful articles of plate of the new standard—the result of a period of renewed activity in the manufacture, which, though it overlaps the last years of the reign of William III., is generally known as ‘ the period of queen Anne.’

Meanwhile, an increasing demand in the provinces for useful, as opposed to ornamental, plate, more particularly for spoons, the only articles exempted from the prohibition of the use of plate in taverns and public houses, led to the establishment, in 1700, of new assay offices at York, Exeter, Bristol, Chester and Norwich ; but the more costly articles of plate continued to be submitted, as formerly, to the wardens of the assay at Goldsmiths’ Hall in London.

Sunderland’s Tax on the Manufacture of Silver Plate.

A tax imposed, in 1720, on the manufacture of silver plate. The yield gradually decreases from 20,000*l.* to 8,000*l.* The tax commuted for a tax on licenses, in 1758.

A short experience of the wear of the spoons and forks of the new standard¹ proved their inferiority to

¹ The marks for silver of the new standard were, a lion’s head erased and a figure of Britannia, which were impressed on all silver manufactured between March 25, 1697, and June 1, 1720, when the previously-existing standard was restored, with the old marks of the leopard’s head crowned and the lion passant. Subsequently, in the reign of George III., the size of the mark of the leopard’s head was diminished, and in 1823 the head was deprived of the crown and the mane and beard.

those of the old standard as articles of use ; the new plate did not stand wear.

For this reason, in 1720, Sunderland abolished the standard of 11 oz. 10 dwt. as compulsory, retaining it only for persons who wished to have plate of a finer quality ;¹ reinstated the old standard of 11 oz. 2 dwt. ; and imposed upon all silver plate imported into or manufactured in Great Britain, a tax at the rate of 6*d.* per oz. troy. The administration of the tax was entrusted to a special commission for the purpose, with powers similar to those of the excise commissioners ; and the tax was levied and secured in the manner usual for excises, every manufacturer being required to make entry of his workshops, that is, register them with the commissioners, and pay duty on the wares he manufactured. Powers of inspection given to the revenue officers enabled them to raise a charge of duty. And all silver plate found in any unentered workshop was liable to forfeiture.²

This tax on the contents of goldsmiths' shops yielded at first, on an average, about 20,000*l.* a year ; but from the insufficiency of the provisions of the taxing Act to secure the tax, a clandestine manufacture was soon established and prevailed to such an extent as materially to reduce the yield. Frauds and abuses continued, notwithstanding an attempt to check them by special enactments in the Act of 1739 for preventing frauds and abuses in gold and silver wares.³ In consequence of the contraband manufacture and the depression

¹ Practically this standard has fallen into disuse.

² 6 Geo. I. c. 2.

³ 12 Geo. II. c. 26, s. 9.

in the trade, the yield gradually dwindled down to about 8,000*l.*; and, in 1758, the tax was repealed, as unproductive, by Legge, who imposed in lieu thereof, a license tax on vendors of gold and silver plate.

The Tax on Licenses to deal in Plate.

1758—1883.

The license tax, imposed in 1758, proves injurious to the 'toy' trade. Traders in small wares are exempted, and a higher rate is imposed for traders in the heavier articles. The rates doubled from 1815 to 1826. Simplification of the law in 1867. The yield in 1855, 1877, 1881, and 1883.

The license, which was annual, cost 2*l.* and was required for dealers in plate—all persons using in Great Britain the trade of selling gold or silver plate, or any goods or wares composed of gold or silver, or any other wares in which any gold or silver was manufactured, and persons employed to sell plate by auction or on commission.¹ Traders in gold and silver lace, wire, thread, or fringe were exempted; but no provision was made for the 'toy' trade, as it is termed at Birmingham, or the cutlery trade. The traders complained of the tax, as too heavy for them to bear; and in the following year, traders in small wares, viz. all articles, wares, or pieces of goods containing not more than 2 dwts. of gold, or not more than 5 dwts. of silver, were exempted; and to recoup the revenue, a higher rate of duty was imposed upon traders in plate or wares containing 2 oz. or upwards of gold, or 30 oz. or upwards of silver, who henceforth were charged 5*l.* for a license. Pawnbrokers dealing in plate, without

¹ 31 Geo. II. c. 32.

reference to weight, and refiners of gold or silver, were required to take out licenses at the higher rate.¹

In Addington's general excise consolidation Act in 1803, the duties were regranted at the rates of 5*l.* 15*s.* and 2*l.* 6*s.*²

In 1815, under the pressure of the Great War with France, the duties were doubled,³ temporarily, until April 5, 1819; but the double duty was subsequently extended to July, 1826,⁴ with an exemption, after 1819, in favour of the sellers of gold and silver watches, if dealers merely in watches containing an amount of gold or silver which involved liability to the lower charge.

In 1845, when the duty on property sold by auction was repealed, by Peel, the auctioneers requested to be allowed to compound, by an increase in the duty on their licenses as auctioneers, for this and other additional licenses to which they were liable. Accordingly, the price of an auctioneer's license was raised to 10*l.*, and the special license for persons employed to sell plate by auction was abolished.⁵

In 1867 the law on the subject, which had become complicated, was consolidated by an Act which re-enacted it in six sections;⁶ and, in 1870, an exemption was allowed to manufacturers of watch-cases, in respect of the sale of watch-cases made by themselves.⁷

The following are, briefly stated, the provisions of the existing law.

¹ 32 Geo. II. c. 24.

² 55 Geo. III. c. 30.

³ 8 & 9 Vict. c. 15.

⁷ 33 & 34 Vict. c. 32.

³ 43 Geo. III. c. 69.

⁴ 59 Geo. III. c. 32; 3 Geo. IV. c. 27.

⁶ 30 & 31 Vict. c. 90.

A license, costing, for dealers in articles where the gold is 2 oz. or upwards, or the silver, 30 oz. or upwards, in weight, 5*l.* 15*s.*, or for dealers in articles where the gold is only over 2 pennyweights in weight, or the silver only over 5 pennyweights in weight, 2*l.* 6*s.*, is required for every house, shop, or other place in which the trade is carried on. Every hawker is liable to license duty in respect of sales of plate in the ordinary course of his trading as a hawker. And every pawnbroker dealing in plate, and every refiner of gold or silver, is liable to duty at the higher rate, viz., 5*l.* 15*s.*, in respect of every house, shop, or place, in which his trade or business is carried on.

The old exemption regarding gold or silver lace, and gold or silver wire, thread, or fringe, is retained ; and articles sold as wholly or in part of gold or silver are to be deemed wholly or in part gold or silver as alleged, and 'gold' and 'silver' mean not pure gold and pure silver, but merely what is ordinarily called gold or silver, viz., a mixture of pure gold or silver and alloy.¹

As a contributory to the revenue the tax is not of great importance. The yield was in 1855 about 18,000*l.* ; in 1877, 41,280*l.* ; in 1881, 43,587*l.* ; and in 1883, 21,183*l.*, from 3,625 licenses at the higher rate, and 25,654*l.*, from 10,728 licenses at the lower rate, forming a total yield of 46,837*l.*

¹ *Young v. Cook*.—*Law Rep.* 3 *Ex. D.* 101.

Pitt's Tax on the Manufacture of Gold and Silver Plate.

Another tax imposed by Pitt, in 1784, upon the manufacture of plate, of gold as well as of silver. The duties collected at the assay offices. New mark of the sovereign's head on plate. The yield, for the first three years, and in 1793. The duties doubled in 1797. Watch-cases exempted in 1798. The yield in 1803. The duty on silver plate raised in 1804. Addition to the tax in 1815. The yield in 1815. Subsequent fluctuation in the yield. The extraordinary yield of 1825. The lowest yield in 1849. The tax in Ireland down to 1842. The yield in 1855, 1875 and 1881. List of exempted articles.

The depression in the trade in manufactured plate, which had proved fatal to Sunderland's tax, continued until about 1765, when a fresh demand for new plate commenced, and silver coffee-pots, teapots, tea-urns, tureens, wine-coolers, dishes and covers and cake-baskets were manufactured in increasing numbers year by year.

From 1766 to 1772, at Goldsmiths' Hall, London, the principal assay office, 3,926 lbs. of gold plate, and 692,528 lbs. of silver plate, were assayed and marked; at the provincial assay office at Chester, 715 lbs. of silver plate; at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 7,266 lbs.; and at Exeter, 2,800 lbs.

In 1773, another provincial assay office was established at Sheffield, where a considerable manufacture of plate had commenced a few years previously and appeared likely to increase, and the manufacturers complained of the hazard, expense, and delay involved in the necessity of sending their goods to London to be marked. A petition from the manufacturers of silver plate at Birmingham, who complained of the necessity of sending their wares to Chester, and stated that

the existence of a local assay office would greatly improve their trade, led to the establishment of an assay office there also.

At this date, the art of plating, recently revived by a spur-maker¹ at Birmingham, was carried on extensively in that town and at Sheffield, by divers artificers, who 'plated with silver, wares of iron, steel and other metals, and impressed marks thereon in such a manner that the wares were made to look like real plate marked at an assay office.'² But though the increasing use of plated articles interfered to a certain extent with the manufacture of plate, it did not prevent its development, which continued year by year.

In 1784, the manufacture of plate in Great Britain was again subjected to a tax, to include gold as well as silver plate, by Pitt, in substitution for two taxes proposed in his Budget, which he was subsequently compelled to abandon. The tax was estimated to yield 25,000*l.* per annum; and for the collection of the duties, 8*s.* per oz. for gold, and 6*d.* per oz. for silver, plate, Pitt made use of the assay offices.

The assay offices, the principal of which is the Goldsmiths' Company in London, are the companies or corporations entrusted with the administration of the laws regulating the standard of gold and silver wares. To one of these, every manufacturer of gold or silver wares is required to take every article he manufactures—the only exceptions being articles of jewelry and certain articles small in size or peculiar in

¹ The craft of 'multiplication of gold and silver' was, however, known as early as the reign of Henry IV. See 5 Hen. IV. c. 4. 1403.

² Petition of the London goldsmiths, &c.

make, which are specially exempted in the Acts relating to the assay. The article is then assayed, that is tested, and marked as standard by the impression of a die or dies. Of those little hieroglyphics which may be observed on any fork or spoon, three are assay marks and signify—one of them, the standard mark, the quality of the plate; another—the arms of the company, the place of assay; while the third, termed the ‘variable letter,’ indicates to the initiated the year of assay. A fourth mark is that of the manufacturer, viz. his initials, imposed by himself, before taking the article to be assayed.

Pitt charged the tax on all wares required to be touched, assayed, and marked, and compelled the manufacturer to send to the office, with his wares, the duty payable, and a note specifying his name and place of abode, the number and nature of the wares, the total weight of the parcel, and the amount of the duty. The assay officer, on receipt of the duty and note, was required to give a receipt for the duty, file the note, and enter the particulars in books kept for the purpose and open for the inspection of the revenue officer. A mark of the sovereign’s head was to be added, after the assay, to denote payment of the duty. And the officers were required periodically to pay over and account for the duties to the commissioners of stamps, under whose management the tax was placed, the office being allowed a poundage for collection.

A deduction of one-fifth of the duty, reduced in the next year to one-sixth, was allowed for wares sent to be assayed in such a rough unfinished state as to

necessitate a diminution in weight in finishing them after assay. The duty paid on any plate broken at the office, as below the standard, was to be returned. A countervailing duty was imposed on plate imported into Great Britain; and a drawback was allowed for new plate exported by way of merchandise.¹

For the first three or four years the average yield was about 26,000*l.* Subsequently, it increased, and in 1793 was 31,537*l.*²

For the purposes of the war with France, Pitt, in 1797, doubled the duties making them 16*s.* per oz. for gold, and 1*s.* for silver, plate.³ The heavy pressure of this double duty on the makers of watch-cases, whose trade was at the same time seriously depressed by the operation of Pitt's clock and watch tax, led to an exemption of all gold and silver plate used for watch-cases,⁴ and *watch-cases made since this date have not the duty mark of the sovereign's head.* In 1803 the yield was 63,415*l.*⁵ In 1804 the duty on silver plate was raised to 1*s.* 3*d.*⁶ In 1815 the yield was 82,151*l.*; ⁷ and in this year the duties were raised to 17*s.* per oz. for gold, and 1*s.* 6*d.* for silver, plate.⁸

¹ 24 Geo. III. sess. 2, c. 53. N.B.—All plate manufactured since the passing of the Act bears as a fifth mark the mark of the sovereign's head. The drawback was extended, in 1812, to plate exported for private use.

² England, 30,979*l.*; Scotland, 558*l.* The tax in Ireland produced in 1793, 1,512*l.*

³ From July 5, 1797, 37 Geo. III. c. 90, s. 16.

⁴ 38 Geo. III. c. 24.

⁵ England, 60,947*l.*; Scotland, 2,468*l.* In Ireland, 2,240*l.*

⁶ 44 Geo. III. c. 98.

⁷ England, 78,120*l.*; Scotland, 4,031*l.* In Ireland, 3,818*l.*

⁸ 55 Geo. III. c. 185.

In 1820 the drawback was disallowed for gold rings and gold articles not exceeding 2 oz. in weight.

The yield of the increased duties, which was at first about 80,000*l.*, varied from 1817 to 1822 from 81,000*l.* to 102,000*l.* Subsequently, the returns show fluctuations for which it is not always easy to account; though the extraordinary yield of 1825, which was over 120,000*l.*, was doubtless due to the desire of a number of successful speculators to possess articles of display. Exceptionally low returns occur in 1832 and 1833, when the yield was only about 73,000*l.* and 70,000*l.* In 1839 the yield was again abnormally high, about 101,000*l.* In 1849 it was the lowest on record, viz., 61,000*l.*

Meanwhile, in 1842, when Peel reimposed the income tax in Great Britain, he raised this tax, with the stamp duties, in Ireland, to the rates payable in Great Britain. In Ireland a tax had been imposed, in 1730, at the rate of 6*d.* per oz. for gold and silver plate equally, and all Irish plate manufactured since that date bears the figure of Hibernia. This tax produced between 1,000*l.* and 2,000*l.* In 1807 the duty was doubled, and the additional mark of the sovereign's head was introduced, and the yield was, in 1815, 3,817*l.* Since 1842 the manufacture of plate has been equally taxed throughout the United Kingdom.

Subsequently to this, the poundage for collection has been fixed at 1*l.* per 100*l.*, and provision has been made for allowing drawback on plate made in Great Britain exported from Ireland, and on Irish plate exported from Great Britain.

In 1855, the yield was over 80,000*l.*, but of late years there has not been any tendency towards improvement. The increasing use of electro-plate, the taste for glass and china as ornaments for the dinner-table, and the decline in the fashion for display in articles of plate, have all militated against the plate manufacture.

In 1875, the yield was 77,000*l.*, an increase on that for the three preceding years ; in 1881, 64,414*l.*—308*l.* being for Ireland ; and in 1883, 71,119*l.*, of which 432*l.* was for Ireland. The duty on imported plate produced in this year, 5,827*l.*

The following articles are not required to be marked at the assay office, and therefore are not subject to duty :—1. Wares of Gold : Rings (other than wedding-rings),¹ collets for rings or other jewels ; chains, necklace-beads, lockets, hollow or raised buttons, sleeve-buttons, thimbles, coral sockets and bells, ferrils, pipe-lighters, cranes for bottles, very small book-clasps, stock or garter-clasps jointed, very small nutmeg-graters, rims of snuff-boxes whereof tops or bottoms are made of shell or stone, sliding pencils, toothpick-cases, tweezer-cases, pencil-cases, needle-cases ; any filigree work ; any sorts of tippings or swages on stone or ivory cases ; any mounts, screws, or stoppers to stone or glass bottles or phials ; any small or slight ornaments put to amber or other eggs or urns ; any wrought seals, or seals with cornelian or other stones set therein ; or any gold vessel, plate, or manufacture of gold so richly engraved, carved, or

¹ Gold wedding-rings are liable to duty. See 18 & 19 Vict., c. 60.

chased, or set with jewels or other stones, as not to admit of any assay to be taken of, or a mark to be stuck thereon, without damaging, prejudicing, or defacing the same; or such other things as by reason of the smallness or thinness thereof are not capable of receiving the marks, or any of them, and not weighing ten pennyweights of gold each.¹

2. Wares of Silver : Chains, necklace-beads, lockets, any filigree work, shirt buckles or brooches, stamped medals, spouts to china, stone, or earthenware teapots, or any of them, of any weight whatsoever. Tippings, swages, or mounts, or any of them, not weighing ten pennyweights of silver each, except only necks and collars for castors, cruets, or glasses appertaining to any sort of stands or frames. Any wares of silver whatsoever not weighing five pennyweights of silver each, except the following, which are all liable to mark and duty, viz. :—necks, collars and tops for castors, cruets or glasses appertaining to any sort of stands or frames, buttons to be affixed to or set on any wearing apparel, solid sleeve-buttons, and solid studs not having a bevelled edge soldered on, wrought seals, blank seals, bottle tickets, shoe clasps, patch-boxes, salt-spoons, salt-shovels, salt-ladles, tea-spoons, tea-strainers, caddy ladles, buckles (shirt buckles or brooches before mentioned excepted), pieces to garnish cabinets or knife-cases or tea-chests, or bridles, or stands, or frames.²

Watch-cases of gold or silver are liable to assay and mark, though not to duty and the duty mark.³

¹ 30 Geo. III. c. 31, ss. 3, 4, 5.

² 12 Geo. II. c. 26, s. 6.

³ 55 Geo. III. c. 185.

Foreign plate imported into this country is marked with an F, in addition to the other assay marks. It is now required to be actually or constructively warehoused, until it is sent to the assay office. Plate found worse than standard is not broken, but is returned to the importer for exportation under regulations of customs;¹ and lastly, articles of foreign plate which in the opinion of the commissioners of customs may be properly described as hand-chased, inlaid, bronzed or filigree work of oriental pattern, are, subject to the payment of the import duties, exempted from the assay.²

¹ 40 & 47 Vict. c. 55. s. 10.

² 47 & 48 Vict. c. 62, s. 4.

SECTION XIV.

THE TAXES ON BRICKS AND TILES, AND STONE AND
SLATES.

1784—1850—1794—1831.

Great Britain.

Proposal for a tax on bricks in the reign of queen Anne ; and by Lyttelton in 1756. Pitt's tax, in 1784. The dimensions of bricks and tiles. The process of brick-making. Scheme of the tax. The yield in 1785, in 1786 and in 1793. The duties raised by Pitt in 1794, and a tax imposed upon sea-borne stone and slates. The duties raised in 1797 and in 1805. The yield in 1815. Waterloo bridge built of taxed stone. Article in the 'Edinburgh Review,' in 1823. The tax on stone repealed. The tax on slates repealed in 1831, and that on tiles in 1833. Yield of the tax on bricks in 1825 and 1836. Principal seats of the manufacture. Parnell's observations on the tax. Report of the commissioners of excise inquiry. The tax altered in 1839 ; and repealed in 1850. The yield.

In these days, when a revival of the style of building known as queen Anne houses forms a prominent feature in our metropolitan street architecture, it may be interesting to note that the first suggestions made in the house of commons for the imposition of a duty upon bricks, tiles, slate, lime and stones used in building, were made in the reign of that queen. Originally the proposal was limited to building done within the limits of the bills of mortality, but subsequently it was extended to include all building within ten miles of London and Westminster.¹ These suggestions were not, however, carried into effect.

¹ Comm. Jour. xvii. 131, &c.

The next proposal for a tax on bricks and tiles formed part of Lyttelton's plan of supplies and taxes for 1756. The tax was to produce 30,000*l*.; but in consequence of strong objections made by Legge, the late chancellor of the exchequer, who urged that it would prove a partial tax, as many parts of the kingdom employed only stone for building, it was postponed and, eventually, dropped, and the ministers 'consented graciously to accept' an additional tax on alehouse licenses estimated to produce 70,000*l*., in lieu of the 30,000*l*. from bricks.¹

Though thus twice in peril, bricks and tiles escaped taxation until 1784, when they were included in Pitt's first Budget; and perhaps with the exception of the tax on coals at the pit, which was subsequently abandoned, no new tax in his long list was so unpopular as the brick and tile tax. 'These are Pharaoh-like tricks,' it was said, 'to take such unmerciful tale of our bricks.'

At this date, the size of bricks formed the subject of statutory regulation, as also the size of tiles. The regulations regarding tiles date as far back as 1477, when it was enacted:—'*Que chescune tiel pleyne teule ensi affaire conteigne en longeure dys pous et dimy*'—that every such plain tile so to be made should contain in length 10 inches and a half, &c., &c.²

The dimensions of bricks were first 'ascertained,' by statute, at a much later date, viz., in 1725, by an Act which also fixed the dimensions of pan-tiles or ridge-tiles, 'then but a late invention in England;'³

¹ Parl. Hist. xv. 663; Walpole, Mem. Geo. II., ii. p. 176; Letters, ii. 511.

² 17 Edw. IV. c. 4.

³ 12 Geo. I. c. 35. Bricks had been previously regulated by order of

but these laws of dimension were, subsequently, allowed to expire; and the brickmaker, continuing the accustomed charge as for bricks of the old statutory size, sought to obtain additional profit by making a smaller brick, until the 'numerous frauds committed in lessening the size of bricks under their usual proportion, without any diminution of price,' led to fresh legislation on the subject. 'For preventing these abuses,' an Act of 1777, again 'ascertained' the dimensions of bricks. The size was now fixed at $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, 4 in width, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in thickness, a diminution from the former standard of half an inch in length and quarter of an inch in width. The Act also again prescribed a particular size for pan-tiles.¹

Thus stood the regulations for the dimensions of bricks and tiles, when the Act imposing the duty was passed in 1784.² *It was the last Act taxing, for the first time, an important branch of our native manufactures.* The duty on bricks was 2s. 6d., and that on plain tiles, 3s., per thousand, with duties at other rates for pantiles and other sorts of tiles.

Charles I. See a Proclamation (May 2, 1625) concerninge buyldinges and inmates within the cittie of London the suburbs thereof and the confines of the same—the size of bricks for buildings within that district was fixed: 'so as for the assize everie bricke beinge burned conteyne in length nyne ynches, in bredth fower ynches one quarter and half a quarter of an ynoch, and in thicknes two ynches and one quarter of an ynoch.' The price was not to exceed 8s. per 1,000 bricks at the kiln. Offenders were to be proceeded against by the Attorney-Generall in the Courte of Starchamber.—Foedera, xviii. 35.

¹ Viz. $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width, and half an inch in thickness. See 17 Geo. III. c. 42. Under this Act it was held that, where bricks were sold under the statutory size, the vendor could not recover the price, although the buyer had received and used them. *Law v. Hodgson*, 2 Camp. 147. The Act is now repealed.

² 24 Geo. III. c. 24.

The process of brickmaking, though capable of very different degrees of perfection, is simple and well known. It consists in—1, the preparation of the clay; 2, the moulding of the bricks; 3, the drying of the bricks in the brick field; and 4, the baking of the bricks in the brick kiln or in large square masses termed ‘clamps.’ Such are the operations of the brick-maker; and before commencing operations, every brick or tile maker in Great Britain was required to give notice at the excise office nearest to his brick field. This gave to the excise officer a *locus standi*; and he henceforth was required to take an account of all bricks and tiles, while they were drying, and before they were removed to the kiln or clamp for burning, and charge the duty on everything that was about to become a brick. Before payment of the duty, an allowance was made of ten bricks in every hundred for waste.

In 1785 the tax produced, in England, 44,847*l.*; and in Scotland, 1,101*l.*;—forming a total for Great Britain of 45,948*l.* In 1786 the yield increased—in England to 61,933*l.*; and in Scotland to 1,568*l.*;—forming a total of 63,501*l.* And, in 1793, on the eve of the Great War with France, the yield was in England, 113,611*l.*; and in Scotland, 2,713*l.*;—forming a total, for Great Britain, of 116,334*l.*; or, if we include the yield for tiles, 128,255*l.*

This tax was one of the first to feel the pressure of war times. In 1794 Pitt raised the rates from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* per thousand for bricks; and for plain tiles, from 3*s.* to 4*s.* 10*d.* per thousand; with a corresponding increase for the other sorts of tiles subject to duty,

and an increase in the duties on bricks and tiles imported.¹

This increase in the duties led to protests from the principal brickmakers in the neighbourhood of London, who complained of the unfairness of thus heavily taxing only one description of building materials; and in consequence of their appeals to the Treasury, a duty was imposed upon all **SEA-BORNE STONE AND SLATES**.²

An additional 1s. per thousand was imposed upon all bricks in 1797;³ and the high rate of duty now payable soon led to the enlargement of the size of bricks. Brickmaker after brickmaker made and passed larger and still larger bricks under the charge established for bricks of the standard size. Before many years, this practice prevailed to such an extent, that fears were entertained that the revenue might be greatly diminished unless preventive measures were adopted; and accordingly in 1801, all bricks over 10 inches in length, 5 in width, and 3 in thickness were charged with an extra duty of 5s. per thousand.⁴

In 1803, on a general consolidation of the excise duties, the duties were re-imposed at 5s. per thousand for the common-sized bricks; 10s. per thousand for the larger bricks; and at higher rates for polished bricks and for extra large polished bricks. For tiles, the rates were fixed at 4s. 10d. per thousand for plain tiles, and at a higher rate for pan or ridge tiles.⁵

¹ 34 Geo. III. c. 15.

² In the form of a customs duty payable at the port where the stone and slates were landed, and at the rate of 20l. per cent. 34 Geo. III. c. 51, repealed by 6 Geo. IV. c. 105.

³ 37 Geo. III. c. 14.

⁴ 41 Geo. III. c. 91. s. 2.

⁵ 43 Geo. III. c. 69.

In 1805 an additional duty of 10*d.* per thousand was imposed upon all common-sized bricks, and all plain tiles;¹ and, in 1815, the yield in Great Britain was 269,121*l.*; the yield for Scotland being between 5,000*l.* and 6,000*l.*

Meanwhile the tax on sea-borne stone had proved a serious impediment to the formation of the great docks, bridges, and other undertakings of national importance which, since its imposition, had been in the course of construction; such, for instance, as the West India Docks and the London Docks. And when, at last, the repeated suggestions made in the preceding century were carried into effect, and the Strand was united to the opposite shore of the Thames by the bridge that was commenced in 1811 and was opened on the second anniversary of the battle of Waterloo, all the stone of which it was constructed, being water-borne, had to pay this tax.

In 1823, the attention of the public was directed to the evil operation of the tax on stone and slates, in a stringent article in the 'Edinburgh Review';² and the strong comments it contained were probably the immediate cause of the repeal of the tax on stone, which was effected in the same year.

But the arguments of the writer, though allowed to be convincing as regards stone, had not the same effect as regards slates; for the duties were re-imposed upon the different sorts, according to size and quality, doubles, ladies, countesses and duchesses, by the thousand, and queens and imperial slates, which are

¹ 45 Geo. III. c. 30.

² Vol. xxxviii. p. 235.

delivered by weight, by the 20 cwt.,¹ and continued in force until repealed, by Althorp, in 1831.²

The effect of the repeal was soon evident in the great increase in the use of that sort of roofing. Tiles, weighted with duty, could no longer hold their own against slates; and the dull grey began to usurp the place of the lively red and rich brown roof in our country scenery, until, after two years of this unequal competition, the tile also was released from taxation.³

The tax on bricks now remained outstanding alone of these taxes on building materials.

In 1825 the yield had been, in England, 573,224*l.*; and in Scotland, 12,652*l.*: forming a total for Great Britain of 585,876*l.* But the yield for that year, an increase of 40 per cent. on that for the preceding year, was wholly exceptional, and far above the general average. In 1836 the tax produced in Great Britain 399,773*l.*, from bricks made by 5,839 brickmakers, of whom 128 were Scotch.

The principal seats of the manufacture were, in England:—Manchester, far away the most important; next, but at a long distance after Manchester, the neighbourhood of London; then in the following order:—Liverpool, Uxbridge, Rochester, Stourbridge, Coventry, Lichfield, and Northwich. In Scotland, more than half the yield of the tax proceeded from Glasgow, where the fortunes amassed before the war of American Independence by the ‘tobacco lords’ were now invested in other branches of trade, for which the necessary buildings were all constructed of brick.

¹ 4 Geo. IV. c. 69. Table D.

² 1 & 2 Will. IV. c. 16.

³ 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 11.

Parnell, in his *Treatise on Financial Reform*, had urged the repeal of this tax. 'It falls,' he wrote, 'heavily on industry, in consequence of the number and size of the buildings required for mills, factories, storehouses, &c., and must obviously contribute to diminish the employment of capital and labour.' And in 1836, when the commissioners of excise inquiry, having, in their reports, passed under review the older excises, came at last to this, on bricks, they condemned it as not only liable to all the objections which attend the regulations of an excise, but open also to the fatal objection of unfairness in its incidence as regards the different parts of Great Britain. Nor could any measure be devised to equalise its incidence in a country which in some parts, as for instance, the county of Suffolk, has hardly a single stone quarry, while, in others, as for instance in Gloucestershire, or some parts of Dorsetshire, stone is so abundant that walls are used instead of hedges. Looking northward, in Glasgow every house erected paid duty, because made of brick ; while further northward, where stone was used, building was wholly untaxed. In their opinion the tax should be noted as one of the first taxes to be repealed, when an opportunity offered. But should it be found necessary, for fiscal purposes, to retain the tax, though incapable of radical cure, they recommended as palliatives, amendments which resolved themselves into—a simplification of the rates of charge ; the abolition of the special duties on polished bricks, which practically prevented any general use of ornamental bricks ; and

the imposition of the duty by reference to the cubic size of bricks, an alteration which would allow the manufacturer to suit the shape of his bricks to the requirements of the builder.

As the state of the revenue did not admit of a repeal of the tax, the government adopted the recommendations for amendment, and in an Act of 1839, reimposed the duty at two rates, viz., 5s. 10*d.* per thousand for bricks not exceeding 150 cubic inches per brick; and 10s. per thousand for larger bricks. The tax included bricks imported from Ireland.¹

Notwithstanding this alteration, the tax continued to form the subject of constant complaints, as pressing heavily on ordinary housebuilding, and on the large new warehouses and railway tunnels and works of that description then in progress. But no fair opportunity for repealing it occurred until 1850,² when lord Halifax, then sir Charles Wood, on suggesting the repeal, recommended it not only on the grounds before mentioned, but also and more especially, as calculated to increase the comforts of the lower class, by improvements in their dwellings.

In 1847 nearly 2,200,000,000 bricks had been charged. The number charged in 1849 was 1,462,767,154, and the duty, 456,452*l.*

¹ 2 & 3 Vict. c. 24.

² 13 & 14 Vict. c. 9.

SECTION XV.

THE TAXES ON HATS.

The tax on felt, beaver, and other hats, 1784–1811.—The tax on chip hats.

The caps or bonnets of the middle ages. The manufacture of woollen caps. After the times of armour, felt hats came into fashion. The importation of hats prohibited. Beaver hats come into fashion. The manufacture fostered in the interest of our colonies. The hats of the puritans and the cavaliers. Cocked hats. The manufacture of hats in France ruined by taxation in 1690. Our export trade in hats. The manufacture of beaver hats a monopoly of England. Hare and coney wool used for hats. The exportation of these articles prohibited and a tax imposed upon hats in 1784 by Pitt. Objections to the tax. Decline in the yield. The tax is repealed by Perceval in 1811. His observations on fanciful suggestions for taxation.

Two taxes that have been imposed on hats of different sorts, though not very productive of revenue, have a certain interest, if only as the failures they proved to be.

The caps or bonnets used by the richer classes, in former times when armour was in general use, to cover the head when the helmet was off, made of velvet, silk, or some other rich material, were imported from abroad. The capote, chaperon, or hood was worn by the lower classes, or a cap made of wool; and the woollen cap manufacture, the art of making woollen caps, has a legislative history of its own during Plantagenet and Tudor times.¹

¹ See 22 Edw. IV. c. 5; 4 Hen. VII. c. 9; 3 Hen. VIII. c. 15; 21, c. 9; 7 Edw. VI. c. 8; 8 Eliz. c. 11; 13, c. 19, &c.

When armour ceased to be usually worn, a mixture of wool and hair wetted and pressed together into felt was used for making, for the protection of the head out of doors, a fabric firmer and stronger than the cap or bonnet, and felt hats came into fashion with the upper classes; but when this new fashion threatened, in the time of Elizabeth, to damage the woollen cap manufacture, 'in which multitudes of her majesty's true subjects were engaged,' the legislature, which already had prohibited any person under the degree of a knight or a lord's son from wearing a hat or upper cap of velvet or covered with velvet,¹ required all persons, except those of a certain rank, to wear, 'upon every sabbath and holy day, a cap of wool thicked and dressed in England.'²

The felt hat manufacture advanced in importance in the reign of James I., fostered by the incorporation of the felt makers of London with certain advantages, and protected by a royal prohibition of the importation of hats and caps wrought or half-wrought.³ In those days hats were worn by women as well as men. Mrs. Turner, when indicted at the bar of the court of king's bench for the murder of sir Thomas Overbury, was ordered by sir E. Coke to remove the hat she wore and show her face, 'because the countenance is oft an index to the mind.'

As our trade with North America developed, we were supplied in abundance with the fur of the beaver for hat-making, and this softer material superseded felt

¹ 8 Eliz. c. 11, s. 5.

² 13 Eliz. 1570, c. 10, rep. by 39 Eliz. 1597 c. 18, s. 46.

³ Proclamation, see *Foedera* XX. 231.

in the manufacture of the better sort of hats. In 1632, 'the wearing of *beaver hats* had become much in use, especially for those of sort and quality,'¹ and in the interest of the trade with our North American colonies, the use of any other material than beaver fur for hats was prohibited.

The shape of the hat, in these times, was distinctive of the political tendencies of the wearer: the puritan wore a sugar-loaf, cone, or steeple hat, with a broad flat brim; the cavalier, one with a lower crown, a feather, and an overhanging brim. After the Restoration, when every cavalier fashion was carried to excess, brims became more extended, feathers more sweeping, and crowns lower. Pepys, in November, 1663, considers his new beaver with other accoutrements altogether 'very noble;' but ladies, who still wore the hat when riding, were compelled to loop up the brim in consequence of its inconvenience: nor was this unbecoming, for he notes 'mrs. Stewart,' la belle Stewart, riding in the park, with other ladies, with her hat 'cocked' and a red plume, as 'the greatest beauty I think I ever saw in my life.'

This cocked hat, that is, with the broad brim tipped up and fastened to the crown, came into general fashion when adopted by Louis XIV., as more suitable to his advancing years than the sweeping feather and broad brim, and continued to be the shape in ordinary use throughout the eighteenth century.

In consequence of the excellence of our hats and the ruin of the French manufacture by the operation

¹ Proclamation Charles I. May 26, 1638, Foedera XX. 230.

of the tax on hats imposed in France in 1690, a considerable demand arose abroad for English hats; and protected, in the home market, by heavy duties on foreign hats and caps, and in the foreign market, by the prohibition of the exportation of hats or felts from any British plantation, the manufacture of beaver hats became a monopoly of England, when, in the Seven Years' War, we added to our possessions Canada, the land of the beaver.¹

The excellence of English hats continued to be acknowledged on the continent during the reign of George II., and secured for the manufacturers a considerable export trade. In these times the wool of the British hare and cony was much used for hats, and was considered to be of such special excellence that the foreign manufacturers continued to purchase it in large quantities until 1784. We now prohibited the exportation of hare and cony wool; and, at the same time, allowed goat skins and Turkey goats' wool, which also were much used in hat-making, to be imported free from a duty of 6*d.* per pound to which they had hitherto been liable.²

Thus protected and fostered, it was assumed that the trade could bear a tax, and accordingly, the hat figured in the long list of new subjects for taxation in Pitt's Budget in 1784. Every retailer of hats of felt or wool, stuff or beaver, or leather or japan, was required to take out an annual license, costing 40*s.* in the metropolis and the neighbourhood, and 5*s.* elsewhere

¹ Beaver skins being among the 'enumerated commodities,' their exportation from America was confined to the market of Great Britain.

² 24 Geo. III. c. 21.

in Great Britain, and have his 'letters up,' as it is termed in revenue language, that is, his name and the words 'Dealer in Hats by retail,' over the door of his shop. Every hat sold was to bear a duty according to the price: not exceeding 4s., 3d.; from 4s. to 7s., 6d.; from 7s. to 12s., 1s.; above 12s., 2s., to be collected by means of a stamped ticket affixed to the lining of the crown of the hat; and the hatter was required to make a separate charge for the stamps in the customer's bill. A drawback of the duty was allowed on exportation, and hats in packages of two dozen might be exported without a stamp ticket. While the manufacture was protected by additional duties imposed upon imported hats and caps.¹

As might be expected, questions soon arose as to what was and what was not a hat within the charge, and in 1804 the duties were reimposed, in terms to include all substances from which a hat could be made, and every sort of hat by whatever name called or distinguished. The previous duties were retained up to a value of 18s., and for hats exceeding 18s., the duty was raised to 3s.² The duties were still 'stamp' duties, as Byron notes, where, writing of Wordsworth, who then held the appointment of a collector of stamp duties,³ he says:—

I shall think of him oft when I buy a new hat :
There his works will appear.

'Ever since I have been in office,' said Spence

¹ 24 Geo. III. c. 51.

² 44 Geo. III. c. 98.

³ Wordsworth is not the only representative of literature in the annals of the revenue departments; Congreve held a situation in the customs. Rowe was a landing surveyor in London, and Defoe, an accountant.

Perceval in his Budget speech, May 20, 1811, 'I have found the tax on hats to be the uniform subject of complaint, and it has been eternally represented as productive of great inconvenience to the fair dealer.' 'When first laid on,' he added, 'it had yielded 60,000*l.* It had since gradually fallen off. In 1809 it produced 38,000*l.*; in 1810, 31,000*l.*; and in the year last past, 29,332*l.* It was not to be supposed that people did not now wear as many hats as formerly, and as persons must have been ready as well to sell as to purchase hats without paying the duty, the revenue was defrauded, and the fair dealer who was too honest to evade the law was the sufferer.' Under these circumstances, he thought it desirable to give up the tax, as he acknowledged himself unable to devise any manner of laying it on the article in another shape so as to guard against evasion.

Pitt's tax on gloves and mittens had been given up in 1794 for the same reason, and Spencer Perceval expressed a hope that when it was known that the taxes on hats and gloves were given up as impracticable and unproductive, the intelligence would not be thrown away upon those gentlemen who, in their anxiety to assist the chancellor of exchequer in discovering new objects of taxation, honoured him with their communications. Not an article of dress—boots, shoes, leather-breeches, &c.; not an article of furniture in a house—locks, keys, bells, the glass duties; Matthew Prior and Dudley North were among the earliest commissioners of customs, and Steele was a commissioner of stamps; Matthew Green, author of that truly original poem 'The Spleen,' held a post in the customs; the illustrious Adam Smith was appointed a commissioner by North in 1778; and Burns, at last, with difficulty obtained a small appointment in the excise.

&c., but had been frequently recommended, no doubt from the best motives, as objects of taxation. If the fact of giving up this tax should have the effect of putting a stop to communications of that description, it would save the Treasury much inconvenience.¹

The tax was therefore repealed.² The modern silk plush hat, recently introduced in consequence of the increasing scarcity of beaver fur, did not, it may be noted, displace the beaver hat until about ten years later than this.

The Tax on Chip Hats.

Watteau hats. A tax imposed upon chip hats in 1767. Smuggling of chip hats. The tax a failure in consequence of an alteration in fashion.

The tax on chip hats is interesting as an instance of a tax on a fashion which almost immediately passed away.

This kind of hat had been particularly fashionable, during what is known as the Watteau period, in France, always famous for taste in the head dress of women ; and French straw hats were much worn in England about the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1767, they were specially taxed by Charles Townshend, who imposed an additional duty of 6s. upon every dozen of bast, or straw, chip, cane, and horsehair hats and bonnets imported into Great Britain, and 6s. for every pound of platting or other manufacture for making such hats and bonnets.³ But smuggling prevailed to

¹ Ann. Reg. 1811, p. 65.

² In Great Britain by 51 Geo. III. c. 70, and in Ireland by 51 Geo. III. c. 60.

³ 7 Geo. III. c. 20.

such an extent that, in order to secure the tax, North, who had succeeded Charles Townshend as chancellor of the exchequer, found it necessary, in 1770,¹ to restrict the importation of hats and bonnets of this kind and platting or other manufacture for making the same, to the port of London, and to bales or tubs containing 75 dozen hats or bonnets, or 224 lbs. weight of platting or other materials. A change of fashion soon rendered these precautions nugatory and, in effect, abolished the tax, rendering it a by-word in after times ; an example of the futility of selecting any mere article of fashion as the subject for a tax.

¹ 10 Geo. III. c. 43.

SECTION XVI.

THE TAX ON GLOVES AND MITTENS.

1785—94.

Imposed in 1785 by Pitt, proves a failure, and is repealed by him in 1794.

THIS was one of Pitt's earlier taxes. Imposed, in 1785, for all gloves and mittens made, in Great Britain, of silk, leather, or any other material, in price over 4*d.* the pair, the duty being 1*d.*, up to a price of 10*d.*; 2*d.*, from that to 1*s.* 4*d.*; and 3*d.*, for every pair over 1*s.* 4*d.* in price, it resembled the tax on hats imposed in the previous year.

To secure the tax, all persons selling gloves or mittens were required to take out an annual license, costing 1*s.*; to put up over the shop door the words 'Dealer in Gloves;' to place in the right-hand glove or mitten of every pair of gloves or mittens sold, a stamp-office ticket stamped to denote the duty; and to make a separate charge for the stamps in any bill for gloves or mittens they might send in to a purchaser.¹

The tax proved a failure, and was repealed by Pitt in 1794, having been in force 9 years.²

¹ 25 Geo. III. c. 55.

² 34 Geo. III. c. 10.

SECTION XVII.

TAXES ON ARTICLES FOR THE TOILET, VIZ., PERFUMES,
TOOTH POWDER, POMATUM, AND HAIR POWDER.

Great Britain.

1786—1800.

The tax imposed in 1786. The articles charged. Repeal of the tax in 1800.

A TAX was imposed by Pitt, in 1786, upon the above-mentioned articles for the toilet, in the same form as the tax on proprietary or patent medicines.

It extended to every packet, box, bottle, phial, or other enclosure containing any of the following articles :—1. Perfumes, that is to say, any powders, pastes, balls, balsams, ointments, oils, waters, tinctures, essences, liquors, or other preparation or composition whatsoever commonly called or known or distinguished by the name of sweet scents, odours, or perfumes. 2. Tooth powder, that is to say, any dentifrice, powders, tinctures, or other preparation or composition whatsoever for the teeth or gums. 3. Any pomatum, ointment, or other preparation or composition for the hair ; and 4. Any hair powder.

The duty was charged, in respect of all articles uttered, vended, or exposed for sale, according to the price : If under 8*d.*, 1*d.* ; from 8*d.* to 1*s.*, 1½*d.* ; and

so on by steps in a scale which ended at 5s. ; for wares of which value and upwards, the charge was 1s.

Dealers in perfumery were required to take out a license, and the revenue officers had the usual powers of entry and search necessary to secure taxes of this description.

A schedule to the taxing Act contained a list of Cyprian odoriferous powders, powder of Marechalle, milk of lilies, essence of orange flower, powder à la Reine, liquid bloom of roses, Circassian wash balls, washes of Venetian bloom, and various other articles of that sort which made our grandmothers beautiful for ever.¹

The tax continued in force for fourteen years, and was repealed, in 1800, by an Act which simply states the expediency of the repeal.²

¹ 26 Geo. III. 1786, c. 49.

² 40 Geo. III. 1800, c. 69.

CHAPTER II.

TAXES ON RAW MATERIALS.

THE TAXES ON : 1. COAL. 2. TIMBER. 3. BARILLA. 4. HEMP.
5. WOOL. 6. SILK. 7. FLAX. 8. COTTON. 9. TALLOW.
10. SEEDS. 11. IRON. 12. INDIGO.

TAXES on raw materials for manufactures now stand universally condemned as in principle and in their operation the very worst kind of taxes. It may be sufficient here to say, that the duty originally paid on the article taxed, accompanies it in every process of manufacture to which it, subsequently, may be subjected, increasing in bulk in every stage, for all those through whose hands the article passes, require interest on the capital expended in payment of the tax. Thus, therefore, by a process of accumulation, taxes of this kind are considerably increased by the time when, eventually, the purchaser has to pay them as part of the price of the finished article, and consequently much more is taken out of his pocket than the nominal amount of the tax.

The articles specified in the sub-heading to this chapter may be traced, through the various tariffs—Pitt's tariff of 1787, where several of them are marked 'duty free,' Addington's tariff of 1803, Spencer Perceval's tariff of 1809, Vansittart's tariff of 1819, and,

after reductions effected by Robinson and Huskisson, as part of their measures for more freedom in trade, into Huskisson's tariff of 1825.¹ Condemned en bloc and most emphatically, by sir Henry Parnell, afterwards lord Congleton, in his 'Treatise on Financial Reform,' the first of these taxes to go was that on coal, which was repealed by lord Althorp in 1831. This class of taxes formed the principal subject for Peel's operations in his reforms of the tariff in 1842 and 1845; and before he left office in 1846, the taxes on barilla, hemp, wool, silk, flax, cotton, iron, and indigo no longer figured in our fiscal list; while the duties on timber, tallow, and seeds had been considerably reduced.

The work commenced by Peel was completed by Gladstone, who repealed, on his revision of the tariff in 1853, the tax on seeds, and, on a second revision, in 1860, the tax on tallow, reducing at the same time the duties on timber, which he subsequently repealed in 1866.

¹ 27 Geo. III. c. 13; 43, c. 68; 49, c. 98; 50, c. 52; 6 Geo. IV. c. 111.

SECTION I.

TAXES ON COAL.

Early use of sea-coal. The sea-coal dealers at Colchester, 1295. Sea-coal used in London about 1300. It is regarded as an 'intolerable nuisance.' Is in general use in London, temp. Charles I. Excise on sea-coal under the commonwealth. The London coal dues for building churches after the Great Fire. A tax imposed upon sea-borne coal in 1695; and upon cinders, in 1699. Repression of the attempts to fire collieries and to drown adjacent collieries. Canals or 'navigations' made for the purposes of the coal trade. The tax on sea-borne coal unfair. Pitt's attempt, in 1784, to tax coals at the pit. Its failure. The duty raised in the Great War. The yield in 1815. Reduction of the duty in 1824. The tax universally condemned. It is repealed, by Althorp, in 1831. Taxes on exported coal.

THE coal, termed by the French 'charbon de terre,' in contradistinction to 'charbon de bois,' wood coal, was for ages termed in England **SEA-COAL**, from its carriage by sea.

Some coasting trade in sea-coal existed towards the close of the thirteenth century, though the coal in ordinary use at that date was coal of wood, charcoal, carbones, the 'bechen cole' of Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales;' and as may be imagined, the earliest records concerning sea-coal have reference to its use in towns along the coast. We find it purchased for use in the castle of Dover, in 1297, and in use at Southampton in 1298. At Colchester, to be reached by way of the river Colne, there were sea-coal dealers in 1295, who paid, in that

year, the tax on moveables in respect of their stock of sea-coal—*carbo marinus*.¹ This sea-coal probably came from Newcastle, where the burgesses held a charter granted by Henry III. authorising them to dig for coal, and a considerable trade in coal appears to have existed in 1281.

At the commencement of the fourteenth century, sea-coal was used in London, by smiths, brewers, dyers and others, in the operations of their respective trades. The coalers, or ‘colliers,’ as we now term them, discharged their cargo at Sea-coal Lane, where it was stored; and the coal was sold in sacks, measured by the quarter, under the inspection of meters appointed by the mayor.² But the use of sea-coal made at first no rapid progress in the metropolis. The physicians proscribed it, considering the smoke it caused to be injurious. Parliament petitioned king Edward I. to prohibit this ‘novel and intolerable nuisance;’ and during the residence of the queen in London it was totally suppressed by royal proclamation, ‘in case it might prove pernicious to her health.’

The importance of sea-coal began to be acknowledged as, in process of time, we used up for fuel much of the wood in the country, and in consequence of ‘a huge deal of wood being yearly spent,’ as Camden puts it, we were threatened with a wood famine, to avert which, by the preservation of timber, we practically suppressed, in the time of Elizabeth, our rising manufactures of iron and glass. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the use of it began to ‘grow from

¹ Vol. I., 80, 252.

² *Liber Albus*.

the forge into the kitchen and the hall of most towns that lie about the coast ;' and, about the time of Charles I., notwithstanding its black smoke, sea-coal had come into general use in the metropolis.

No tax was imposed upon this article before the commonwealth, if we except a small customary payment to the king at Newcastle, which is mentioned in an Act entitled in Hawkins, oddly enough, as relating to 'keels that carry coals to Newcastle.' But under the commonwealth, when almost every article of consumption was taxed, sea-coal was subjected to an excise, which was the cause of much written remonstrance in tracts and other pamphlets.

A duty imposed, after the Restoration, upon sea-coal imported into the metropolis, the proceeds of which were to be devoted to the rebuilding of the churches destroyed in the Great Fire, did not retard the now rapidly increasing consumption, which was trebled within the last two decades of the seventeenth century.¹

To the expenses of the war with France was due the imposition of another tax on coal, in 1695. This touched all SEA-BORNE COAL, carried in any ship from one part of England or Wales, or from Scotland, into any other part of England or Wales ; and the rates were : 5s. the chaldron, of 36 bushels, for coals usually sold by measure ; 1s. the chaldron for culm ; and 5s. the ton for coals usually sold by weight. Charcoal made of wood was not included in the tax.

At the same time, the coal trade was favoured by

¹ See Davenant, *Ways and Means*, Works, i. 46.

an exemption from impressment allowed to masters of coalers or colliers, in respect of their seamen, at the rate of one man for every 50 tons of the vessel; while the colliers were protected by a statutory channel fleet for the purpose: nine of the forty-three ships of war appointed to cruise along and guard the coasts, were to cruise, six on the northern, and three on the western coasts, for their better protection and preservation.¹

In 1699 a tax was imposed upon all cinders made of pit-coal, water-borne, at the rate of 5s. the chaldron.²

These taxes, imposed in England for limited terms of years, were renewed in the reign of Anne, and eventually were extended to Great Britain and made perpetual, at the rates of 5s. the chaldron for coal and cinders of pit-coal; and 3s. 4d. the ton, for coals sold by weight, with a lower rate for every chaldron of culm.³

Numerous enactments on the subject of the coal trade in the eighteenth century evidence a recognition on the part of the legislature of the importance of assisting its development. Attempts to set collieries on fire, were repressed by means of the penalty of death as a felon, and attempts to drown adjacent collieries, made by proprietors of collieries with a view to enhance the price of coals and gain the monopoly thereof, by means of a penalty of treble damages and costs of suit;⁴ but any material increase

¹ 6 & 7 Will. III. c. 18.

² 10 & 11 Will. III. c. 21 s. 28.

³ 8 Anne c. 4; 9, c. 6.

⁴ 10 Geo. II. c. 32; 13, c. 21.

in the internal trade in coal was retarded by difficulties of transit, until private enterprise began the work of cutting canals or 'navigations,' as they were termed, many of which as, notably, the first, the duke of Bridgewater's, were made for this particular purpose. By this means the consumption of inland carried coal, as opposed to coal carried coastwise, had greatly increased when, in 1784, Pitt, impressed with a sense of the unfairness of the tax, with a view to charge coals used in inland consumption at the same rate as coals imported into London, proposed his famous tax on *coals at the pit*. All due allowance was to be made for coal used in manufactures, but he was unable to induce the House to agree to the tax.

The duties were imposed, in the tariff of 1787, at 7s. the ton for coal sold by weight, and 8s. 10d. the chaldron (36 bushels) for coal sold by measure, if carried into the port of London; and at 3s. 8d. the ton, and 5s. 6d. the chaldron, for coal carried into any other port; cinders from pit-coal carried from any port to another being charged 5s. 6d. the chaldron; with other rates for culm.

The rates, raised in the war, stand, in Addington's tariff of 1803, for coal brought to London, 7s. 6d. the ton, and 9s. 4d. the chaldron; to any other port, 4s. the ton and 6s. the chaldron, with other rates for cinders from pit-coal and culm.

These rates were continued in Spencer Perceval's tariff in 1809; and in 1815 the yield was 894,000l.

In 1824 the duties were reduced, by Robinson, for coal, culm and cinders carried to London, to 4s. the

between 300,000 and 400,000 tons a year, by the high duty of 17*s.* the chaldron; if this were reduced, the exportation would be immensely increased, with great advantage to the revenue, and also to the owners of collieries and of ships, and to the labouring class.' In this view, lord Althorp, in the next year, reduced the tax to a tonnage of 3*s.* 4*d.* for coal in British, and 6*s.* 8*d.* for coal in foreign, ships,¹ and, in 1834, the tonnage for coal in British ships was repealed, while that for coal in foreign ships was reduced to 4*s.*²

Subsequently, a tonnage of 2*s.* for coal in British ships, imposed by Peel in 1842,³ remained in force for three years. It was repealed in April 1845; and the repeal was followed, a month afterwards, by the abolition of the 4*s.* tonnage for coal in foreign ships.⁴

¹ With lower rates for small coal, culm and cinders. 1 & 2 Will. IV. c. 18.

² 4 & 5 Will. IV. c. 89, s. 17.

³ With 1*s.* the ton for small coal and culm. 5 & 6 Vict. c. 47. Table B.

⁴ 8 & 9 Vict. cc. 7, 12.

SECTION II.

THE TAX ON TIMBER.

Timber, battens and deals. The tax raised the question of protection to Canadian timber. The duties on timber increased by Pitt, in 1801. The yield in 1807 and 1808. Reduction of the duties on Canadian timber, and increase of the duties on Baltic timber, by Vansittart, in 1809. Further increase for Baltic timber in 1810 and 1813. Destruction of the trade in Baltic timber. Yield of the tax in 1815. The difference in the duties for Baltic and Canadian timber reduced in 1820. The yield in 1830. Poulett Thompson's speech on the revision of taxes, March, 1830. Parnell's observations on the tax. He condemns it absolutely. Althorp, in 1831, adopts the suggestions of Poulett Thompson; and, subsequently, changes his plan. The new plan rejected by the house. Baring, in 1841, revives Althorp's plan. The question of protection raised. Defeat of the government on their budget. Peel's alteration in the tax in 1842 and 1845. Further alterations in 1847 and 1851. The differential duties abolished by Gladstone, in 1860. The yield in 1865. Repeal of the tax in 1866.

TIMBER is the term used to mean large trees squared, or capable of being squared, and fit for use in building houses or ships. Trees, when sawn into thin pieces not above seven inches broad, are termed, in the language of the customs, BATTENS, and when sawn into thin pieces exceeding that breadth, DEALS. In the tariff they all ranged under the head of WOOD, which included wood for furniture and a great variety of forms of wood.

The tax on timber on importation, though no mean contributory to the revenue, was of special importance in the question of protection raised in reference to the

differential duties on timber from Canada and timber from Europe.

In his last Budget before leaving office, in 1801, Pitt increased the duties on wood, including timber, by one-third,¹ to produce an additional 100,000*l.*, and the tax yielded in 1807, 650,000*l.*, and in 1808, 600,000*l.* But in 1809, the yield was only 180,000*l.*, in consequence of the interruption of our relations with the Baltic powers, Norway, and Sweden, from whence we derived our principal supply of timber. In fear of a wood famine, we determined to give a protection to Canadian timber, which, it was expected, would secure to us a constant and abundant supply of this all-important article from our own possessions, and render us independent of foreign aid. In that view, Spencer Perceval, in 1809, reduced the duties on timber from Canada and our other possessions in America to a minimum, and imposed additional duties upon timber from the north of Europe, which were doubled in 1810, and, although, after Napoleon's disastrous campaign, the navigation of the Baltic had been restored, were further increased, in 1813, by Vansittart's additional 25 per cent. on the customs, imposed in that year.²

This excessive taxation of Baltic timber resulted in the destruction of a trade which, in 1809, had given employment to no less than 428,000 tons of British shipping, and as Canadian timber is inferior, for many purposes, to Baltic timber, compelled us to take an inferior article at an increased price.³

¹ See 41 Geo. III. c. 28.

² 49 Geo. III. c. 98; 50, c. 77; 53, c. 33.

³ Life of lord Sydenham, p. 405.

In 1815 the yield was 1,800,000*l.*; and in the tariff of 1819 the duties were reimposed, under the head of wood, which contains 182 different items of charge.¹

Two years after this, in consequence of the reports of the committees of the Lords and Commons on the trade of the country, in 1820, the duty on timber from the north of Europe was reduced from 3*l.* 5*s.* the load, containing 50 cubic feet, to 2*l.* 15*s.*, while the duty on timber from British America was raised from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 10*s.*² The difference in the duties was thus reduced to 2*l.* 5*s.*, which was considered to be not more than sufficient to cover the higher prime cost, the greater freight and other charges on Canada timber; and the tax thus altered produced, in 1830, a million and a half of revenue.

In his speech on the revision of taxes, in March 1830, Poulett Thompson, soon to be vice-president of the board of trade in the Grey administration, a high authority on the subject, for he had been originally a Russia merchant, directed attention to the evil effects of the tax in forcing the consumer to pay an exorbitant price, and compelling him to take an inferior article quite unfitted for the purposes for which he required it. 'By changing the system,' he said, 'by re-opening the trade to the Baltic, we had it in our power to relieve the consumer to a great extent and to increase the revenue by at least one half.' But Parnell in his 'Treatise on Financial Reform,' while acknowledging that, by a re-arrangement of the duties, the

¹ 50 Geo. III. c. 52.

² 1 & 2 Geo. IV. c. 37.

revenue might be increased, unhesitatingly condemned the principle of the tax. The protection in the timber trade enjoyed by the shipowners and Canada merchants cost the public at least 1,000,000*l.* a year.¹ The duty on timber affected and injured industry in a great variety of ways, in consequence of timber being so much used in ships, buildings, machinery, &c. Countries possessing forests in the vicinity of navigable rivers enjoy great advantages in that respect over our shipbuilders, and to lay a duty on timber is still further to increase those advantages. Instead of doing this, it would appear as if it were an indispensable preliminary to securing a permanently successful competition with foreign shipbuilders, to admit timber to be imported duty free.

Lord Althorp, in the arrangements for his Budget in 1831, adopted the suggestions of the vice-president of the board of trade, and proposed to raise the duty on Canadian timber to 20*s.*, and reduce that on Baltic timber to 50*s.* The alteration was to affect timber and deals, and was estimated to produce 600,000*l.* of additional revenue.

This proposal was opposed as unjust to Canada and injurious to the shipping interests, and in consequence of the representations made by deputations of merchants who waited on him, Althorp changed his plan, and on March 18, in a committee on the customs Acts, substituted for his original proposal one for a reduction of the duty on Baltic timber by 6*s.* from January 1, 1832, by another 6*s.* from January

¹ Lord Sydenham puts it at 1,500,000*l.*

1833, and by another 3s. from 1834, making in all 15s., which would reduce the duty to 40s. as against the duty of 10s. on Canadian timber, which would remain untouched. The new plan was therefore a simple proposal to abolish *pro tanto* the differential or protective duties. It was opposed by Peel and other influential members, and eventually an amendment proposed by Mr. Attwood that the chairman do leave the chair, was carried against the government by 236 votes to 190, leaving them in a minority of 46 votes.

In 1835 a committee of the house of commons reported in favour of a reduction of the differential duty against Baltic timber from 45s. to 30s.; and in 1841 Lord Northbrook, then Francis Baring, who had succeeded Spring Rice as chancellor of the exchequer, having to provide an additional 1,700,000*l.* for the expenses of the year, revived Althorp's plan, taking his estimate of the expected increase as 600,000*l.*

This proposal, connected, as it was, with one for a reduction of the protective duties on sugar and, prospectively, with another for the reduction of the duties on corn, of which Lord John Russell had given notice, raised the question of protection, and after a debate of eight nights on the question relating to sugar, the Melbourne government were defeated, on their Budget, by 317 votes to 281, leaving them in a minority of 36 votes.

When Peel brought in his first Budget, in the following year, and by means of the income tax was able to effect a revision of the tariff, he reduced the duty on European timber from 55s. to 25s., with a charge of

32s. for deals and battens, and that on colonial timber from 10s. to 1s., with 2s. for deals and battens.¹ In 1845, on his second revision of the tariff, he repealed the duties on several woods for furniture—mahogany, tulip, &c. ; and, before he left office in 1846, Goulburn, as part of the Budget arrangements of the year, had effected a further reduction of the duties, by two steps, one in April, 1847, and the other in April, 1848, when they were to be 15s. for foreign, as opposed to colonial, timber, with a charge of 1*l*. for deals and battens.² The duty on colonial timber remained at 1s. the load, with a charge of 2s. for deals and battens.

In 1851 lord Halifax, then sir Charles Wood, was able to repeal a moiety of the duties on foreign, as opposed to colonial, timber, reducing them to 7s. 6*d*., with a charge of 10s. for deals and battens,³ at an estimated loss to the revenue of 286,000*l*. In 1859, the yield was, in all, 614,850*l*., including 384,692*l*. from wood, sawn or split, and 230,158*l*. from wood not sawn or split; and in the next year, on the fourth revision of the tariff, Gladstone abolished the differential duties and reimposed the tax on all timber, foreign and colonial, at the previous rate for colonial timber, viz., 1s. with 2s. for deals and battens.⁴

The expected loss was 400,000*l*. ; but in 1865 the tax yielded 320,040*l*. It was repealed, by Gladstone, in 1866.

¹ From October 1843.

² 14 & 15 Vict. c. 62.

³ 9 & 10 Vict. c. 23.

⁴ 23 & 24 Vict. c. 110.

SECTION III.

THE TAX ON BARILLA.

The tax originally imposed to protect the manufacture of kelp. The yield in 1815 and 1828. Objections to the tax. Decline in the importation of barilla. Peel reduces the tax, in 1842, and, in 1845, repeals it.

THE barilla of commerce, Fr. soude, consists of the ashes (Arabic, al kala, alkali, 'the burnt') of several marine and other plants growing on the sea-shore. The best, or Alicant barilla, is prepared from the salsola soda which is extensively cultivated for this purpose in the huerta of Murcia, and other places on the eastern shores of Spain; but Sicily and Teneriffe produce good barilla, and it is also imported from the United States. It is used by bleachers, glass-makers, and manufacturers of hard soap.¹

The tax on barilla, originally and avowedly imposed to protect the manufacture of kelp, from ashes of sea-weed, for the exclusive benefit of a few families in Scotland, produced, in 1815, 59,000*l.*, and, in 1828, 59,249*l.* But the plan of protecting the manufacture of kelp completely failed, for the producer quite lost his market, in consequence of the introduction of a factitious alkali, or soude factice, which completely undersold him.

¹ McCulloch, Comm. Dict.

Poulett Thompson, in his speech on the revision of taxes, in March, 1830, observed that it was not to be borne that, for the sake of protecting nominally a few individuals, or to raise so small an amount, one of the most important of our manufactures should be oppressed ; while Parnell, in his ‘Treatise on Financial Reform,’ urged that the duty should be wholly taken off.

In 1834, the amount of barilla entered for home consumption was 327,712 cwt. ; but in consequence of the success of Le Blanc’s process for artificially manufacturing soda from common salt, the import declined to 47,380 cwt., for 1841 ; and when in 1842, Peel, on his first revision of the tariff, reduced the duty from 2*l.* to 5*s.* the ton, and on his second revision, in 1845, repealed it, the relief from duty had little effect on the import of the article.

SECTION IV.

THE TAX ON HEMP.

The yield in 1815. Reduction of the duty by Robinson in 1825. The yield in 1827. Objections to the tax. It is repealed in 1845.

THE cultivation of hemp in this country is considered not to be profitable, and we have derived our principal supply of this important article from Russia. The strength of its fibre renders it peculiarly applicable to the manufacture of sail-cloth and cordage; and it is also used for towels, table-cloths, and a variety of articles of apparel for those who cannot afford linen made of flax.

In Spencer Perceval's tariff of 1809, the duty on rough or undressed hemp was imposed at the rate of 7*s.* 8*d.* the cwt.;¹ but at this date, in consequence of the interruption of our communications with Russia, the yield of the duty was not considerable. The high price attained by hemp in consequence of the difficulties in the way of its importation at this date, 1808–14, was the principal cause of the introduction of the use of iron cables, which eventually had the effect of considerably decreasing the demand for hemp. After Napoleon's unsuccessful campaign in Russia, the import of this article revived; and in 1815, the yield

¹ 49 Geo. III. c. 98.

of the tax was no less than 285,000*l.* This was, however, an abnormally high yield.

In 1819, the duty was imposed, in Vansittart's tariff, at the rate of 9*s.* 2*d.* the cwt.;¹ but in 1825, Robinson was able to reduce it by a moiety, at a loss of about 100,000*l.* of revenue. Imposed in Huskisson's tariff of that year at the rate of 4*s.* 8*d.* the cwt., or 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the ton, about 16 per cent., the duty yielded, in 1827, 104,000*l.*

Falling upon an article of the first necessity for the navy and the mercantile shipping, not produced at home, this high duty, by increasing the prices of sails and cordage, was quite inconsistent with the numerous legislative regulations in force for protecting and encouraging the shipping interest. It also raised the price of those kinds of linen which were in general demand, and by thus diminishing the consumption of them, diminished the employment of capital and labour.² For which reasons, Poulett Thompson, in his speech on the revision of taxes in March 1830, said: 'the duty levied on this article is at once the most absurd and the most monstrous of any of the customs.'³

The tax was repealed, with the taxes on flax, cotton yarn and raw silk, by Peel, on his second revision of the tariff, in 1845.

¹ 59 Geo. III. c. 52.

² Parnell, *Financial Reform*, p. 21.

³ *Life of lord Sydenham*, p. 406.

SECTION V.

THE TAXES ON WOOL.

Rise of the manufacture of woollen articles in England. The ancient revenue from exported wool ceases in 1647. The Act for burying in woollen. Discouragement of the manufacture in Ireland. Prohibition of the use of Indian silks and printed calicoes. Repeal of the ancient subsidy on cloth and all duties on English woollen manufactures in 1700. Our monopoly of the supply of woollen articles. Complaints of a decline falsified by Burke's account of the state of the manufacture. Imported wool taxed in 1802. The tax raised in 1813. The yield in 1815. The duty raised to 6*d.* the pound in 1819. Reduction of the duties in 1825. Repeal of the tax by Peel in 1845.

IN the middle ages, duties on exported wool and on cloth, after the skilled workmen introduced into England from Flanders by Edward III. had raised the manufacture to an excellence that established for us an export trade, formed together a most productive source of revenue.

The manufacture of cloth and woollen articles of different sorts became established in various places, and grew to be by far the most important manufacture in the kingdom. 'The profit that cometh of sheep' caused, in Tudor times, a large portion of England to be turned into sheep farms. The statute book became thick-set with enactments to foster, or to regulate the manufacture of cloth and woollen articles. We kept our sheep within England with care greater than Venice devoted to secure her skilled glass-workers at

Murano. The manufacture was improved and developed in the reign of Elizabeth by the refugees from the persecutions of the duke of Alva in the Low Countries, who perfected the making of bays, says, serges, and other stuffs subsequently in great request; and at last, English cloth of the best sort ranged supreme in reputation in Europe. As English wool formed a necessary ingredient in the manufacture of cloth of this kind, to prevent it reaching the foreigner would secure to us a monopoly of the supply; and in this view, parliament, in 1647, absolutely prohibited the exportation of wool and woollen yarn.¹

Thus ended the famous subsidy from wool, which had proved, in former times, the subject of contests frequent and severe, between the king and the parliament. The subsidy on cloth still continued in force.

Before the Restoration, 'a market was opened for our goods not only into Spain, France, Italy and Germany, but also into Russia, the Baltic and other parts, and carried by way of Archangel into Persia, and also a trade settled into Turkey;' ² and, after the Restoration, the policy of keeping our wool at home was adopted under the monarchy.³

Not long after this, when the importation of foreign linen threatened to deprive our manufacturers of

¹ Scobell, Acts and Ordinances, Part I. p. 138. 'No country but England and Ireland,' writes Davenant, 'has a sward or turf that will rear sheep producing the wool of which most of our draperies are made.' Works, ii. 235.

² Gee on Trade, ed. 1767, p. 106.

³ 12 Car. II. c. 32 'That wool is eminently the foundation of English riches, I have not heard denied by any. and that, therefore, all possible

woollen articles of a business they had long possessed, of making shrouds for persons who could not afford to buy linen for their dead, we secured to them, *en revanche*, a monopoly in respect of grave clothes, even for the rich.¹

Odious ! in woollen ! 'twould a saint provoke,
exclaims Pope's Mrs. Oldfield—

No, let a charming chintz and Brussels lace
Wrap my cold limbs and shade my lifeless face.

But the gratification of the wish would have involved her executors in penalties, unless indeed she had happened to die of the plague.

Our next step in the interest of the English landowners and woollen manufacturers was to suppress a considerable and 'daily increasing' manufacture of cloth and woollen articles in Ireland and our plantations in America, which by supplying foreign markets theretofore supplied from England, would 'inevitably sink the value of lands and tend to the ruin of the trade and the woollen manufactures of the realm.' In this view, we crushed out of existence the rival manufacture in Ireland, by a prohibition of the exportation of their cloth and woollen manufactures to foreign parts or any place but England.² At the same time, we precluded them from exporting their wool, except to England. This measure was not, however, an entire success, for, as the customs on importation of

1699.

means ought to be used to keep it within our kingdom is generally confessed,' writes Sir Josiah Child not long after this.—*On Trade*, cap. viii. p. 145.

¹ 18 Car. II. c. 4; 30. st. i. c. 3; 32. c. 1.

² 10 & 11 Will. III. c. 10.

the article into this country operated as a practical prohibition, we thus 'set the Irish upon a smuggling trade to France, which for a long time they supplied with combed wool run in butter casks.'¹

1700. Next, when, in consequence of the increase of trade with the East, we found that the use of East India goods hindered the consumption of Norwich stuffs, crapes, shalloons, says, perpetuanas and antherines, in the interest of our manufactures of wool and silk, we prohibited the wearing and use of wrought silks, bengals and stuffs mixed with silk or herba of the manufacture of Persia, China, or East India, and calicoes painted, dyed, printed, or stained there.² While, to encourage the export trade, we repealed all duties on the exportation of any long cloths, short cloths, kersies, bays or serges, *cottons*, stuffs, stockings, hats, caps, or other manufactures of wool, or made of sheep's wool or coney wool, or mixed with any or either of them manufactured in England.³

Thus ended the subsidy from cloth, including the old and new draperies, the fine broad cloth which formed the 'ancient drapery' of England, the narrow cloth, the Spanish cloth, and the lighter and coarser cloths and stuffs. The amount of the subsidy duties paid from Michaelmas 1696 to Christmas 1700 was 129,640*l*.⁴

The repeal of the export duties was followed by a considerable increase in the amount of goods entered as exported; though, as the entries were no longer

¹ It was strewn into the casks, with shot to add to the weight, and covered with butter.

² 11 & 12 Will. III. c. 10.

³ 11 & 12 Will. III. c. 20.

⁴ Davenant, Works, v. 445.

checked with the goods, Davenant considers that many of them were fictitious, made only for the purposes of private persons; but the prohibition of East India silks and printed calicoes drove the trade to Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and the sale of these goods abroad, by its interference with the sale of our woollen goods in foreign markets, probably injured us more than the wearing of the goods, if permitted, would have hurt us at home in the consumption of our woollen manufactures.¹

Henceforth our attitude towards foreign nations was regulated, in no small degree, for generations, by reference to their willingness to receive and their power to consume those woollen manufactures 'upon the improvement of which, and the profitable export trade from the same, the wealth and prosperity of the country were considered to depend.' Armed sloops guarded the channel to prevent the exportation of sheep and wool; and enactments were passed which, in the severity of their provisions and the manner in which they were enforced against the owlers,² as the wool smugglers were termed, recall to mind the old forest laws of the Norman kings. 'Like the laws of Draco,' wrote Adam Smith, 'these laws may be said to be all written in blood.'³

In 1703, by the Methuen Treaty, we secured the free admission of our woollen manufactures into Por-

¹ Davenant, Works, v. 458.

² Swift uses the word: 'By running goods these graceless owlers gain;' and Brewster speaks of 'a naval war of owlers against ourselves.'—*Essays on Trade*, 1702, Introduction, p. 9.

³ *Wealth of Nations*, ii. 231.

tugal ; and at this date, we had, practically, a monopoly of the clothing of the known world, except those with whom we were at war. This continued for some years, until by means of new methods of smuggling, the French managed to obtain an increased supply of our wool, and resumed a manufacture which had considerable success until 1720, when the plague in France, memorable from its fatality at Marseilles, put a stop to all intercourse with her, and prevented her supplying the foreign market. This sent up the price of our manufactures ; but subsequently when, after the plague, the smuggler resumed his business of running wool into France and the French again partly supplied the foreign market, our manufacturers, before many years had passed, began to complain, stating that the manufacture showed signs of decline.¹

Complaints of this sort are not always well founded ; and it is difficult to reconcile such a statement with the facts, if Burke, who was notoriously careful in inquiry, gives a faithful picture of the state of the manufacture about the middle of the century, where, pointing to the vigorous shoots it had thrown out northwards in that grand county of industry, Yorkshire, he notices that the registers of the West Riding of the quantities of cloths entered showed entries, from 1752-4, of 172,152 pieces broad and 216,454 pieces narrow, and that this increased to 229,663 pieces broad and 235,131 pieces narrow, for the three years from 1765-7, to say nothing of an in-

¹ Mr. Samuel Webber, *Account of the Woollen Manufacture*.—Gee on Trade, note, pp. 107-14.

creasing manufacture of thin goods at Halifax, of bays at Rochdale, and a variety of goods at Manchester.¹

In the manufacture of several sorts of cloth, foreign sheep's wool had, for many years, formed a necessary ingredient, and in that view we had encouraged the importation of it by an exemption from duty. In Pitt's tariff of 1787, wool of various sorts stands duty free, while cloth of any sort is charged with the prohibitory duty of 1*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* the yard. But in 1803 we departed from this policy and subjected wool on importation to a duty of 5*s.* 3*d.* the cwt., a little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* the pound.² Raised, in 1813, by Vansittart's 25 per cent. on the customs duties, to 6*s.* 8*d.*, the tax produced in 1815, in Great Britain, 47,848*l.*

Four years after the peace, in 1819, compelled to endeavour to fill partially the void in our revenue caused by the repeal of the income tax in 1816, Vansittart, acting on the report of the Finance Committee, raised the duty on foreign wool to 6*d.*, and that on colonial wool to 1*d.*, the pound. But the duty for foreign wool was reduced, in 1824 and 1825, by Robinson and Huskisson, in compliance with the representations of the manufacturers, to 1*d.* for wool of the value of 1*s.* the pound or upwards, and $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* for wool not of that value; while wool of any British possession was admitted duty free.³ At the same time, Huskisson insisted on the abolition of the prohibition of the exportation of wool, which was henceforth to

¹ Observations on a late publication, Works, iii. 33.

² Viz. 4*s.* 8*d.* and 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. 43 Geo. III. cc. 68-70.

³ 5 Geo. IV. c. 47; 6, c. 104, and the Act for the Tariff of 1825, c. 111.

be allowed, on payment of duties at the rates charged for foreign wool when imported.

This measure involved an estimated loss of 350,000*l.* of revenue ; and in 1827 the yield of the import duties was 106,286*l.*

Peel did not make any alteration in the duties on his first revision of the tariff, in 1842 ; but in 1845, on the second revision, the duties on sheep's wool were repealed, together with all the other duties on wool, viz. alpaca, beaver, cony, goat's wool or hair, and hare's wool.¹

¹ Act for the Tariff of 1845, 8 & 9 Vict. c. 90.

SECTION VI.

TAXES ON SILK.

The silk manufacture in England. Development of the manufacture after the settlement of French refugees at Spitalfields. The war of the tariffs. Protection of the manufacture. The yield of the duties on raw and thrown silk in 1815. Huskisson and Robinson reduce the duties in 1825, and introduce a new system. Condemnation of the tax by Parnell. The tax repealed by Peel in 1845. The tax on French manufactured silk goods repealed in 1860.

For a long time we derived no inconsiderable amount of revenue from duties on the raw and prepared material for the manufacture of silken articles.

This manufacture was a forced plant in England. During the middle ages our supply of silken articles and velvets was principally derived from the Italian cities, Venice, Florence and Genoa. The home manufacture was insignificant, until a considerable improvement therein was effected, in the reign of Elizabeth, by the refugees from the persecutions of the duke of Alva in the Low Countries, most of whom settled in Norwich and London. Subsequently, James I., in imitation of Henri IV. of France, made great efforts, not only to improve the manufacture, but also to establish the silkworm in England;¹ but notwithstanding this encouragement to the home manufacture, most of the silk articles worn or used in this country came

¹ See vol. i., p. 217.

from abroad and, in consequence of the price, the use of them was limited to the rich, down to the date of the Restoration.

When 'luxury was with Charles restored,' and extravagance in dress followed in reaction to the 'sad' coloured attire of the puritans, a new demand arose for articles of silk, not only 'for bedding, hangings for rooms, carpets and the lining of coaches, but more particularly for articles of silk attire, which were now used by persons of a lower social position than theretofore.' Our 'national gaudery' increased, and 'our ordinary people, especially the female, would be in silk, more or less, if they could.'

This new demand for silken articles was, however, of small advantage to our home manufacture. The manufacture of Holland had lately been considerably improved, and that of France, introduced into the country by Francis I. and fostered by Henri IV., had attained a remarkable excellence. French fashions reigned supreme in courtly circles; and the importation of foreign silks, more especially from France, was such as perceptibly to affect the demand for woollen stuffs and cloths, while it beggared our own silk weavers.¹

The commencement of the war of the tariffs between France and this country, with Colbert's second tariff of 1667, whereby the French manufacturers attempted to exclude our woollen manufacturers from their French market, afforded an opportunity to us to place French silks under an embargo; and while we totally excluded from our market the silk manu-

¹ *Britannia Languens*, A.D. 1680, p. 186.

factures of that country, we subjected those of other countries to heavy duties in protection of our home manufacture.

Another persecution—that which, in France, followed in consequence of the repeal, by Louis XIV., of the edict of Nantes—sent us a second welcome addition to our industry in this line in the manufacturers who formed a colony at Spitalfields; and, soon afterwards, a remarkable increase in the import of East India goods caused us to protect our home manufacturers by an absolute prohibition of the wearing or use in England of the wrought silks of India, Persia and China, and India printed calicoes.¹ Next, to protect the business of the Royal Lustring Company, we absolutely prohibited the wearing of French alamodes and lustrings.² And lastly, in order to encourage the silk, as well as the woollen, manufacture, we prohibited the wearing and use of home printed calicoes, in apparel, household stuff, furniture or otherwise.³

The effect of these prohibitions was, as regards French silks, to raise the price and strengthen the position of the article in the world of fashion, in the same way that the high price of French wines conduced, with their excellence, to render them favourites with the upper classes. The demand was supplied by means of the smuggler and by a diversion of the course of trade; and, as the trade in French wine, when diverted by the prohibition of a direct trade, passed

¹ 11 & 12 Will. III. c. 10.

² 5 Anne, c. 20.

³ 7 Geo. I. st. 1, c. 7. Stuff of linen yarn and cotton-wool mixed therewith was in 1736 allowed to be used. 9 Geo. II. c. 4. And see ante, p. 344.

through the Peninsula to England, and the trade in brandy, under similar circumstances, was diverted to pass through Flushing into England, so now Lyons silks reached us by way of Italy.¹ As regards Indian silks, the prohibition cost us, at first, part of the trade, which, as already mentioned, went to Amsterdam and Rotterdam, while it did not prove practically exclusive of the silks. Imported, warehoused and exported, they were subsequently reimported by the smuggler, and eventually reached the consumer at a price to cover this backwards and forwards process and the risk of detection.

In the case of a manufacture of articles of luxury, the prosperity of which depends upon the whims of that fickle goddess Fashion, bolstered up by prohibitions of this sort and hampered by restrictions regarding wages and other statutory regulations, many vicissitudes of fortune must be expected. The ups and downs in the silk trade were frequent and considerable; and the yield of the duties on the imported materials for the manufacture varied accordingly. As regards thrown silk, we discouraged the importation, by limiting it to silk from Italy, and by heavy duties imposed to protect the native manufacture when commenced at Derby in the famous silk mill of sir Thomas Lombe. Raw silk was a more productive item. The duty, imposed in Pitt's tariff of 1787, at 3s. the pound

¹ Not Italian but French silks coming through Italy were the cause of that jealous feeling which found expression in the Spitalfields riots in 1765, when the journeymen silk weavers of London, on rejection of the Bill for a new duty on silk manufactures from Italy, attacked the duke of Bedford's house in Covent Garden.—Anderson, Commerce, iv. 69.

of 16 oz.,¹ that for thrown silk being 7s. 4d., and that for thrown silk, dyed, 1l. 4s. 9d., produced in that year 159,912l. In 1793 the yield was 209,915l., and in 1815, in Great Britain, 449,710l., after deducting about 68,000l. for bounties in the nature of drawback.

The British manufacture continued to be inferior to that of France and that of Germany, until Huskisson had the courage to introduce a new system. In 1824 and 1825, acting in concert with Robinson, the chancellor of the exchequer—for in the reforms effected in this early stage of our advance towards free trade they worked together—he obtained the assent of parliament to a considerable reduction in the duty on raw silk, viz. to 3d. the pound; a material reduction in the duties on thrown silk, whether dyed or not, viz. to 7s. 6d. the pound; a repeal of the Act for discouraging the importation of thrown silk; a repeal of the prohibition of the importation of silk articles, which were allowed to be imported for home consumption on payment of a duty of 30 per cent. on the value; a repeal of the bounties on the exportation of silk manufactures; and a repeal of the ‘Spitalfields Act’ and other Acts relating to the wages of persons employed in the manufacture.² These measures involved a loss of 460,000l. of revenue.

Nor was this all; in the next year, the duties were further reduced, for raw silk, to 1d. the pound; for

1826,

¹ 27 Geo. III. c. 13.

² 5 Geo. IV. c. 21, reducing duties and repealing bounties and prohibitions; c. 66, repealing Acts relating to wages; 6 Geo. IV. c. 20, repealing Act for discouraging the importation of thrown silk; c. 111, the tariff Act of 1825.

thrown, not dyed, to 2s., for singles, 3s. for tram, and 5s. for organzine and crape silk ; and for thrown silk, dyed, to 4s., for singles or tram, and 6s. 8d., for organzine and crape silk.¹ The duty on the importation of silk manufactures was changed, as far as practicable, into rated duties according to the weight of articles. And, to encourage the home manufacture, the excise on the printing of silks was repealed, and a drawback was allowed of the duty on soap used in the process of throwing, printing or dyeing of silk.

The manufacturers expected that they would be ruined ; but such was not the case. On the contrary, the exercise of greater skill and ingenuity on their part necessitated by competition, resulted in an improvement and extension of the manufacture in the next twelve years greater than that of the previous hundred years.

In 1827 the yield in the United Kingdom was, from raw silk 15,608*l.*, and from thrown silk, 112,768*l.* ; in all, 128,376*l.* ; but before 1830, the progress made in silk machinery was such, that Parnell, in his treatise on Financial Reform, when urging the repeal of the duty on thrown silk, as one that raised the price not only of imported, but also of home, thrown silk, as it was impossible there could be two prices in the same market, was able confidently to predict that our throwsters, were the duty repealed, would be able to introduce improvements which would enable them to compete with free foreign thrown silks.

¹ 7 Geo. IV. c. 53. Singles are single reeled threads twisted to strengthen them ; tram is composed of two or more threads twisted together.

On Peel's second revision of the tariff, in 1845, the duties on raw silk and thrown silk, not dyed, were repealed (together with those on cotton, flax, and hemp); and in the next year Goulburn repealed the duties on thrown silk, dyed.

It may be added that the tax on French silk goods continued to be levied until 1860, when it was repealed, in connection with the arrangements under the treaty of commerce with France. It produced at that date about 270,000*l*.

SECTION VII.

THE TAX ON FLAX.

Our linen manufacture reduced to nothing after the Restoration. Superiority of foreign linen. Prohibition of the importation of French linen. Attempts to promote a manufacture in England and in Ireland. Prohibition of French cambrics and lawns. High duties on other foreign linen. Undressed flax exempted from duty. High taxation of dressed flax. Reduction and repeal of the duties on raw linen yarn. Reimposition in the great war of duties on undressed flax and raw linen yarn. The yield in 1815. The rates in the tariff of 1819. Reduction of the duties in 1825. The yield in 1827. Repeal of the duties, by Peel, in 1845.

IN the long list of articles subjected to taxation on importation into this country figure, for many years, the items undressed flax, dressed flax and raw linen yarn, the materials for the manufacture of linen.

The use of linen in England was, before the Restoration, more or less a luxury. Persons of quality—that is to say, rich persons—only were able to afford to use, and only used sparingly, the dear fine hollands and other fine linens of great price imported from abroad. Much of the linen in use was made at home, both by gentlewomen and other women; while the demand for household and coarse linen of all sorts was chiefly met by a considerable manufacture carried on in Cheshire, Lancashire, and the parts adjacent.

After the Restoration, in consequence of an increasing supply of linen of excellent quality derived from France, Holland and Germany, where the manu-

facture had lately been considerably improved, the use of linen increased among all classes day by day. The English housewife now ceased to make her linen at home, and began to employ herself in making ‘an ill sort of lace.’¹ While the advantages possessed by foreign countries, in the abundance and cheapness of their flax and hemp and the low price of labour, and the superior excellence of the article they produced, beat our manufacturers out of the home market, and our manufacture was reduced to next to nothing.

We now endeavoured to bolster up a native manufacture by protective enactments. To lessen the importation of linen from beyond seas, the Act for burying in woollen was passed.² Then, we prohibited the importation of linen from France; and during the war with that country a native manufacture was again established in some parts of England, more particularly in Somersetshire and Dorsetshire, where they made good linen in imitation of France, but on the conclusion of the war this was again discouraged by the amount of linens smuggled into the West.

We next endeavoured to foster and promote a linen manufacture in Ireland, where we had practically ruined the woollen manufacture as antagonistic to our own; and in the result, the famous linen trade of Ulster was established, which retained an unrivalled pre-eminence until the establishment, long after these times, in the second decade of the present century, of the linen trade of Dundee.

It was partly with a view to encourage the linen

¹ *Britannia Languens*, p. 178.

² See recital, 30 Car. II. c. 3.

trade in England and Ireland that we prohibited the use of printed calicoes ; and when, in imitation of the French Court, where Louis XIV. had succeeded in establishing the use of cambrics in lieu of the muslins before this in general fashion, French cambrics and lawns came into fashion in England, to suppress the use of them, we, at first, imposed an additional duty of 1*s.* 5*d.* the half-piece upon foreign cambrics, out of the proceeds of which a bounty was to be paid to English and Irish linen manufacturers who exported goods to Africa, America, Portugal or Spain,¹ and afterwards, in 1745, totally prohibited the importation and wearing of French cambrics and lawns, under a penalty, which might be recovered from the husband, should the wife incur it by wearing them.² This protected a manufacture of linens of the sorts known as cambrics and French lawns set up at Winchelsea, in Sussex,³ from which, in 1764, was formed the English Linen Company.

In the same policy that led us to exclude French linens, we subjected all other foreign linens to heavy duties on importation.

The raw material for the manufacture, viz. undressed flax, we allowed to be imported duty free.⁴ Dressed flax was always subject to a considerable duty ; and so was foreign raw linen yarn, until 1751, when, in the interests of the manufacturers, and to the detriment of the spinners, a poor class of people little regarded in the legislation on the subject,⁵ the duties were

¹ 15 Geo. II. c. 20.

² The penalty incurred by a wife might be levied on the goods of the husband, 18 Geo. II. c. 36 ; 21 Geo. II. c. 26. ³ 4 Geo. III. c. 37.

⁴ 4 Geo. II. 1731, c. 27.

⁵ Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, ii. 228.

reduced to 1*d.* the pound. In 1756 they were totally repealed. At the same time the bounty on the exportation of British and Irish linens¹ was extended. This bounty and exemption from duty, granted at first for fifteen years, were continued by subsequent legislation.

The exigencies of the great war with France necessitated the reimposition of duties upon undressed flax and raw linen yarn; and in 1815 the yield in Great Britain was 8,478*l.*; the net yield of the duties on imported linen being 74,540*l.*

In Vansittart's tariff of 1819 the duties were reimposed as follows:—for dressed flax, 10*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* the cwt.; undressed, 5*d.*; raw linen yarn, 1*s.*;² but in 1825 Huskisson and Robinson reduced the duties for flax, dressed and undressed, to 4*d.* the cwt., to be reduced to 3*d.* for 1826, 2*d.* for 1827, and 1*d.* for 1828 and subsequently. At the same time, the bounties were re-enacted at reduced rates and made gradually to expire in a course of years.³

The net produce in the United Kingdom in 1827 was 8,974*l.*

Peel did not make any reduction in the duties on his first revision of the tariff; the 1*d.* the cwt. on flax and 1*s.* the cwt. on raw linen yarn, are still charged in Class XII., relating to cotton, hair, linen, wool, and manufactures thereof, in the tariff of 1842;⁴ but on his second revision, in 1845, they were repealed, together with the taxes on cotton yarn, raw silk and thrown silk, not dyed, and hemp, dressed or undressed.⁵

¹ 24 Geo. II. c. 46; 29, c. 15.

³ 6 Geo. IV. c. 111. Bounties, c. 113.

⁵ 8 & 9 Vict. c. 90.

² 59 Geo. III c. 52.

⁴ 5 & 6 Vict c 47.

SECTION VIII.

TAXES ON COTTON.

Meaning of the word cotton in the Acts relating to the woollen manufacture. Beginning of the cotton manufacture. It is discouraged in the interests of the older textile manufactures. Rise of the manufacture 1700-1785. Duty on cottons in Pitt's tariff of 1787. Increase in the import after 1793. Additional taxation in 1802 and 1803. Pitt's memorandum relative to a tax on cotton. Spencer Perceval proposes in 1811 a tax on American cotton, unsuccessfully. Vansittart's proposal for a tax in 1812 is equally unsuccessful. The import of cotton in 1815. Yield of the tax. The tax increased in 1819. The duty in the tariff of 1825. Yield of the tax in 1827. The duties raised in 1831 by Althorp, on the repeal of the excise on printed goods. Reduction of the duties in 1833. Repeal of the tax, by Peel, in 1845. The yield at that date.

THE manufacture of cotton is the youngest of our textile manufactures. The term, from the Arabic *goton*, to signify the raw article from which were made the Indian calicoes, so called from Calicut, on the Malabar coast, from whence they were first imported,¹ was for a long time used in this country to designate woollen articles made in imitation of calicoes. In this sense it is used in the Acts relating to the woollen manufacture in Tudor times.

Before the end of the seventeenth century 'cotton-wool had become a great employment.' From cotton

¹ As cambrics derive the name from Cambrai, or, to touch nearer home, North and South Repps and Worsted, in Norfolk, gave their names to particular articles of manufacture. Conf. also arras, damask, brown holland, nankeen, &c.

'curiously picked and spun, were made dimities, tapes, stockings and gloves, besides several things wove fit for use, as petticoats, waistcoats, and drawers of different fancies and stripes;' and Cary now suggested that, as we found so much difficulty in establishing a home manufacture of linen, shirts might well be made of cotton. Great quantities of this material were imported yearly from our plantations in America; and had our workmen encouragement, they would, he doubted not, exceed the East Indies in making calico; an article fit for shirts and other things of that kind could be manufactured; and we might in a short time attain to an excellency therein, not only to supply ourselves, but also for foreign markets.¹

The manufacture, discouraged in the interests of the older textile manufactures, made, at first, but slow progress. From 1700 to 1705, the average annual amount of cotton-wool imported into Great Britain was about a million and a quarter pounds; in 1760, the entire value of the cotton goods manufactured in Great Britain was estimated at not more than 200,000*l.* a year. But the invention, in this decade of the century, of the spinning jenny, by Hargreaves, was succeeded by other inventions which had the effect of increasing the manufacture to one which consumed, on an average from 1776 to 1785, an annual import of 6,776,000 lbs. of cotton-wool; and the import increased, in 1792, to 35,000,000 lbs.²

¹ *Essay on Trade*, 1695, pp. 15, 59.

² As to the rise of the cotton manufacture, see *ante*, p. 345-8, and vol ii. p. 197.

This came chiefly from the British and French West India islands, and cotton fine enough to make imitations of muslins was extremely scarce; but after 1793, we obtained an increasing supply from America, first in the 'sea-island' cotton, which is of the finest sort, and next, in the 'upland' cotton, which was rendered available for the purposes of the manufacture by Eli Whitney's invention of a machine for separating cotton from the seed, and of which the quantity was enormous. Recruited from this source the import rose, in 1800, to 56 millions of pounds.

As regards the duty on the raw material for this now flourishing manufacture, in Pitt's tariff of 1787, cotton-wool from a British plantation is marked duty free, and, although this article from any other place was charged with a duty of 1*d.* the pound, it was allowed, under certain conditions, to be imported in British-built ships without payment of any duty.¹ In 1802, however, when, after the peace of Amiens, Addington, on the repeal of the income tax, was compelled considerably to increase the indirect taxes, a new duty was charged upon cotton-wool from any British possession and an additional duty on the article from any other place.²

In the tariff of the next year, which had been draughted during the peace, the duties were reimposed at the rates of 8*s.* 4*d.* the 100 pounds for cotton-wool from any British possession, the United States, or Turkey, and 12*s.* 6*d.* the 100 pounds for the article

¹ 27 Geo. III. c. 13; 6 Geo. III. c. 52, ss. 20, 21.

² 42 Geo. III. c. 43.

from any other place, that is to say, at 1*d.* and 1½*d.* the pound; but before this tariff had passed into law the war had recommenced, and in July the duties were doubled, by the imposition of another 1*d.* and 1½*d.* the pound, as temporary or war duties,¹ estimated to produce 150,000*l.* of revenue.

In the tariff of 1809 the duties were reimposed at the rate of 16*s.* 11*d.* the 100 pounds—8*s.* 4*d.* of which was the war duty of 1803, and the remainder the permanent duty of 8*s.* 4*d.* increased by a percentage to 8*s.* 7*d.*—for cotton-wool imported in a British-built ship, the rate for the article otherwise imported being 1*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*²

As may be imagined, in those times, when everything that could be taxed was taxed, and the development of a manufacture was considered to be evidence that it could bear additional taxation, this enormous increase in the import of cotton-wool from America did not escape the notice of our chancellors of the exchequer. In a memorandum relating to suggestions for additional taxes made by Pitt, cotton figured to produce, at 1*d.* the pound, an additional 230,000*l.* of revenue. This memorandum was seen by Spencer Perceval,³ and in 1811, when he repealed Pitt's tax on hats, he proposed to recoup the revenue by a new tax on American cotton. This proposal was, however, successfully opposed by Peel and Baring.

The cotton manufacture was now adult. It could well swim without a cork, and in the view that it was

¹ 43 Geo. III. cc. 68, 70.

² 49 Geo. III. c. 98.

³ George Rose, Diary, and see vol. ii., p. 229.

unnecessary to encourage by means of a bounty the export trade which was now established, Vansittart repealed, in 1812, the bounty which had been allowed for exported printed goods, which had increased from a small charge to over 300,000*l.* a year. Cotton-wool was excepted from his 25 per cent. rise in the customs duties of the next year; but he introduced into the House a second proposal for a tax on cotton from America, which, however, was successfully resisted by Baring and other members.

In 1815 the import had risen to 92 millions of pounds; the value of the goods exported was 22,289,645*l.*; ¹ and the net yield of the tax, 760,461*l.*

The war duties, so far as they were charged on cotton-wool imported in British-built ships, were allowed to expire in July, 1815; ² and the yield in 1816, ending January 5, 1817, was, in Great Britain, 369,110*l.*

The duties were reimposed, in Vansittart's tariff of 1819, upon foreign, as opposed to colonial cotton, according to the value, at the rate of 6*l.* per cent., or if imported in a ship not British, 12*l.* per cent.; ³ and in Huskisson's tariff of 1825, the 6*l.* for every 100*l.* of the value was charged upon all cotton-wool, except of the growth of a colony and imported directly from thence, which was free.⁴ In 1827 the yield in the United Kingdom was 332,355*l.*

In 1831, when Althorp repealed the excise on printed cottons and lincens, in order to recoup the

¹ Porter, *Progress of the Nation*.

² 59 Geo. III. c. 52.

³ 55 Geo. III. c. 33.

⁴ 6 Geo. IV. c. 111.

revenue, he raised the duty on imported foreign cotton-wool to 5*s.* 10*d.* the cwt., and imposed 4*d.* the cwt. upon colonial cotton-wool imported directly. But this increase, which produced considerably less than had been expected, was imposed avowedly for a temporary purpose, and, in 1833, the duty of 5*s.* 10*d.* was reduced to 2*s.* 11*d.*¹

The tax was wholly repealed by Peel, in 1845, as one that, imposed upon an article of raw material which was most important to the prosperity of the country, pressed most heavily on the coarser fabrics.

The loss to the revenue would not be less than 680,000*l.*, taking the duty upon the estimate of the quantity imported in 1844.

¹ 1 & 2 Will. IV. c. 16; 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 10.

SECTION IX.

THE TAX ON IMPORTED TALLOW.

Yield of the duties in 1815, 1827, 1840, and, after a reduction by Goulburn, in 1849. Repeal of the tax, by Gladstone, in 1860.

IN 1815, the duties charged upon imported tallow produced in Great Britain 88,197*l.* ; and in 1827, when we find them included by Parnell, in his 'Treatise on Financial Reform,' among the taxes on articles being materials of manufactures he so emphatically condemns, they produced, at the rates of 1*s.* per cwt. for tallow from any British possession not in Europe, and 3*s.* 2*d.* per cwt. for tallow from other places, 188,557*l.* for the United Kingdom.

In 1836, Peel, speaking upon a question of raising the duties on tallow from Russia, pointed out that that country paid us in this raw material for our manufactured articles, which she took in return.

In 1840, the yield was 186,283*l.* In 1846 the duties were reduced, by Goulburn, to 1*d.* and 1*s.* 6*d.*,¹ and at these rates produced, in 1849, 94,619*l.* They were not touched by Gladstone on the third revision of the tariff in 1853 ; but were repealed by him in 1860.² The yield was then 87,000*l.*

¹ 9 & 10 Vict. c. 23.

² 23 & 24 Vict. c. 22.

SECTION X.

THE TAX ON SEEDS.

Yield of these duties in 1815, 1827 and 1840. They are reduced, by Peel, in 1842 and 1846, and repealed, by Gladstone, in 1853.

THE duties on seeds, imposed at different rates for seeds of various descriptions,¹ became of importance in consequence of the improvement of our system of agriculture. This improvement, commencing under the Stuarts, in the eleven home counties, caused such an increase in the value of rents in those counties that, though scarce a seventh part, in quantity of acres, to the rest of England, they were assessed as one-third part of the value of rents, to the ship-money in 1636. After this, spreading farther into the provinces, in the last quarter of the century, clover, saintfoin, trefoin, as well as marl and lime,² and other improvements reached the northern and western counties; and eventually agriculture in this country attained the high development of which the first clear picture is afforded in Arthur Young's 'Tours' of inspection.

For the system of agriculture thus established an abundant and continuous supply of seeds of various sorts was of paramount importance, and a considerable quantity was yearly derived from abroad. In 1815 the yield of the duties to which seeds were liable

¹ In the tariff of 1825 there were 38 different subheadings of seeds.

² Davenant, *Ways and Means*, Works, i. 46.

on importation was, in Great Britain, 44,239*l.* ; in 1827 it had increased, for the United Kingdom, to 166,604*l.* ; and in 1840 it amounted to no less than 195,541*l.*

In 1842, when Peel reduced the duties, on his reform of the tariff, he made some interesting remarks regarding seeds of various sorts :—

A great benefit would be conferred upon agriculture by a reduction of the duty on clover seed, a most important item in the breeding and feeding of cattle upon the improved system of agriculture. At the existing duty of 20*s.* the cwt., such had been the demand for foreign clover seed,¹ that the yield in 1840 had been no less than 141,000*l.*, for although this kind of seed was produced in some of the southern counties of England, Scotland and some of our northern counties were entirely dependent upon an extrinsic if not a foreign supply. He proposed to reduce the duty to 10*s.* the cwt. ; that is to say, 100 per cent. His regret that in making this reduction some injury would be inflicted on those districts which had hitherto partially supplied the demand for clover seed, and indeed, in consequence of the high duty, had had a comparative monopoly, had been overruled by the necessity of the case, which was proved by the large importation of clover seed in 1840. To lower the duty would facilitate the importation of this seed, which would be a great advantage to the agriculturists of the North.

The same reasoning would apply to grass seeds. There might be in some parts of the kingdom a partial

¹ From the Dutch claver. This seed was, formerly, imported principally from Holland. McCulloch, Comm. Dict.

failure, and we might be able to procure a supply of a better article from the continent, and was it not to the manifest advantage of agriculture to promote the introduction of what is in some sort to be looked upon in the light of a raw material? He had, therefore, reduced the duty from 20s. the cwt. to 5s. the cwt. on grass seeds.

Again, the onion was a vegetable of the greatest importance to the vast body of the community, and if there should be a partial failure of the seed, it was most desirable that we should have the means of procuring it from the continent. The existing duty, 1s. 6d. the pound, encouraged smuggling; and he recommended so considerable a reduction, that no doubt particular and interested parties had been greatly but unnecessarily alarmed. The duty would be reduced to 1l. the cwt.

A reduction of duty for linseed and other oil seeds would be of advantage to the crushers of this country, and enable them to compete with the foreigner. The duty on these would be reduced from 1s. to 1d. per quarter.

In 1846 a further reduction of the duties on seeds was effected, by the Act that repealed the taxes on imported cattle, sheep, and pigs, and beef, bacon, and salted or fresh meat, viz., for clover seed from any British possession to 2s. 6d. the cwt., and for other clover seed, to 5s. the cwt., with a considerable reduction for other seeds.¹

Lastly, the tax on imported seeds was wholly repealed, in 1853, by Gladstone, on his revision of the tariff.²

¹ 9 & 10 Vict. c. 23.

² The Tariff Act of 1853, 16 & 17 Vict. c. 106.

SECTION XI.

THE TAX ON IRON.

The manufacture of iron discouraged in former times as destructive of timber. Fear of a wood famine. Lord Dudley's patent for the use of sea-coal for smelting iron, 1621, rendered useless by the populace, who destroyed his works. The import of iron in various periods from 1711 to 1763. Rise of the home manufacture. Coke is now used in the furnaces. The new works on the Carron. Inventions of Mr. Henry Cort. The power-engine of Watt. The manufacture of pig or cast iron doubled in eight years. Extent of the manufacture in 1793. Additional taxation of imported bar iron, by Pitt, in 1797. Increase in the manufacture in the war. The coalition ministry propose, in 1803, a tax upon pig iron. Objections to the tax. The proposal is withdrawn. Produce of the duties in 1815. Reduction of the duties in 1825. The yield in 1827. Peel reduces the duties in 1842, and in 1845 repeals them.

THE manufacture of iron in this country and the manufacture of glass were discouraged, in former times, when wood was the only fuel used in the furnaces, as the cause of a destruction and wasting of timber which raised to an excessive price 'the necessary provision of fellable wood serving for fuel,' and threatened more serious results. We should be deprived, it was urged, of an article necessary for naval purposes,¹ at a time when 'great masses of treasure were expended upon our merchant shipping,' and queen Elizabeth was yearly, so far as the meagre means at her disposal

¹ 23 Eliz. c. 5.

would permit, increasing her navy for the inevitable contest with Spain.

In the west and in the south, wherever iron was made, the result had been the same. In Gloucestershire, though, after the disappearance of those strong and skilful miners who in the times of the Plantagenets continued to work the mines in the Forest of Dean,¹ this region became overgrown with a 'wonderfull thicke forest, the shelter of robbers, who in the reign of Henry VI. infested all Severn side,' subsequently, when 'rich mines of iron were (again) here found out, those thicke woods began to wax thin by little and little.'² While in Kent, Surrey and Sussex, in some parts of which counties the manufacture had been established at an early period in consequence of the existence of an abundance of timber near the iron ore, here also 'a huge deale of wood was yearly spent in this way,' and we were threatened with a wood famine, in consequence of the destruction of the forests of the Weald.

To avoid such a result the legislature now interfered, restricting the manufacturers of iron in the use of wood, preventing the establishment of new works, except in certain places, and discouraging the manufacture by an absolute prohibition of the exportation of iron. In consequence of these measures in restriction of the home manufacture, and the comparative excellence and cheapness of foreign iron, we continued

¹ See writs to send miners, to be chosen 'from the best and strongest miners of the same forest,' to Gascony, and to Edward le Despenser in France. *Foedera. Record Edn.* III. Part ii. 762, 1021.

² Camden, *Britannia*, p. 358. See also Atkins' *Hist. Gloucestershire*, pp. 199, 200.

for ages to derive our principal supply of this article from abroad.¹

In 1621, an attempt was made to introduce the use of pit-coal for this manufacture. A privilege or monopoly for the melting of iron ore and making the same into cast works or bars with sea-coals or pit-coals was granted by the king to Edward, lord Dudley, and subsequently was exempted from the operation of the statute against monopolies;² but the works of the inventor were destroyed by the ignorant populace, and the invention was subsequently neglected.

The import of iron was, between 1711 and 1718, 15,000 tons; between 1729 and 1735, 25,000 tons; from 1750 to 1755, 34,000 tons; and from 1761 to 1766, 48,000 tons.³

About this date the home manufacture began to rise in importance; coke was brought into use for the furnaces; and 'iron works of magnitude even in their cradle had been set up on the Carron, which at the same time drew nothing from Sheffield, Birmingham, or Wolverhampton.'⁴ About 1781, the operation termed puddling, and other great improvements in the manufacture, were invented by mr. Henry Cort; and about 1788-90 the double power-engine of Watt was introduced, 'the regular and increased effects of which were soon felt in most of the iron districts.'⁵ 'We all know,' said Pitt, speaking of the period from 1786 to 1792, in

¹ 'Iron and glass spoil much wood, and after all may be imported from abroad better and cheaper than we can make them.' Harrison, Description of Britain.

² 21 Jac. I. c. 3.

³ Ure, Dict. Arts and Manufactures.

⁴ Burke, Observations on a late publication, 1769. Works, iii. 34.

⁵ Ure, Dict. Arts and Manufactures.

his Budget speech in the year last mentioned, ‘how considerably our ironworks have been extended during the period to which I have referred.’¹ In short, the home manufacture of pig or cast iron doubled in eight years; and in 1796, in a return on the subject of the coal trade made to the chairman of committees of the house of commons, the manufacture of pig iron was stated to have risen to 125,079 tons from 121 furnaces—104 English and Welsh, and 17 Scotch.

Notwithstanding this remarkable increase in the home manufacture, the yield of the duties on foreign, as opposed to colonial, iron—for we encouraged the importation of bar and pig iron from our colonies in America by an exemption from duty—continued to increase, down to the war with revolutionary France. This war changed the state of the case, and the obstacles it presented to our supply from abroad, an additional 10 per cent. on imported iron in bars imposed in 1797,² and the increased demand for iron occasioned by the war, combined to stimulate the home manufacture and raise it so as to rank as one of the highest importance.

In Addington’s tariff of 1803 the duties were imposed as follows:—For iron in bars from a British colony, 13s. the ton; from any foreign country, 3*l.* 17s.; and for pig iron, 4s. 6*d.* or 10s. 6*d.*, similarly, according to the country of origin.³

In 1806, 227 furnaces in Great Britain produced

¹ Speeches, ii. 41.

² To produce—with an addition of the same amount for brimstone, olive oil, and staves—43,000*l.*

³ The Tariff Act of 1803. 43 Geo. III., c. 68.

250,000 tons of pig iron; and in this year, lord Henry Petty, chancellor of the exchequer in the coalition ministry formed after the death of Pitt, and known as 'All the Talents,' proposed to tax this flourishing manufacture, suggesting that 40s. the ton on pig iron would produce a revenue of half a million.

The proposed tax proved extremely unpopular. It figures, with that on private brewing and the 10 per cent. income-tax, in Rowlandson's caricature of 'the Experiment,' as one of the heaviest packages to be brought up from the ship sunken by the combined weight of the burden, and, when introduced into the house of commons, encountered serious opposition. Falling upon a raw material, which was afterwards wrought up, and afterwards manufactured in articles, the tax, it was urged, would prove to be out of all proportion to the benefit derived from it to the exchequer; it would produce, Wilberforce calculated, not more than 200,000*l.* to the government, while it would cost the public a million a year. It was also opposed as a heavy and injudicious tax on machinery, on agriculture, on coals, and on various manufactures where iron was consumed in great quantities and where no proper substitute for it could be devised. The ironmasters and others interested in the question made out a case which, though probably overstated, was allowed to be strong; and in the result, the ministers, left with a majority of only ten votes on a question for the commitment of the Bill, gave up the tax, and in lieu thereof, in the event, ten per cent. was added to the assessed taxes.

In 1815 the yield of the duties on bar iron was 63,000*l*. The home manufacture still continued to increase rapidly ; and after the war, in 1817, the Act that prohibited the exportation of iron unless the preemption had been offered to the commissioners of the navy, was repealed as no longer necessary.¹ Not long after this the construction of the new railways made its influence felt ; and in 1825, the year in which the Stockton and Darlington Railway was opened, the number of furnaces in Great Britain and their produce, which had been, in 1820, 260 and 400,000 tons, rose to 374 furnaces, producing 581,367 tons.

Reduced, in the tariff of 1825, for bar iron to 2*s*. 6*d*. the ton if from a colony, and 1*l*. 10*s*. if from any other country,² with rates of 1*s*. 3*d*. and 10*s*. for pig iron, the duties produced, in 1827, 21,431*l*.

Before Peel took office the home manufacture had risen to 1,396,400 tons, from 402 furnaces. In his first tariff, of 1842, the duties were reduced for foreign bar iron to 1*l*. the ton, and for pig iron to 1*s*. the ton for colonial, and 5*s*. the ton for foreign, iron.³ And in 1845, on his second revision of the tariff, the tax was wholly repealed.⁴

¹ 47 Geo. III. c. 17, repealing 9 Geo. III. c. 35.

² The Tariff Act of 1825, 6 Geo. IV. c. 111.

³ 5 & 6 Vict. c. 47.

⁴ The Tariff Act of 1845, 8 & 9 Vict. c. 90.

SECTION XII.

THE TAX ON INDIGO (INDICO).

Substitution of indigo for woad as a dye. Exemption of drugs used in dyeing from duty, in 1721. Indigo and cochineal allowed to be imported from any place. Bounty on indigo from British plantations in America. Indigo taxed in the war with France. The yield in 1815. Reduction of the duties in 1825. The yield in 1827. Repeal of the tax by Peel in 1845.

THIS material, which is one of the greatest importance to our manufacturers, superseded, in the dyeing of blue colour, woad, the article used, originally, by the Ancient Britons and their women, to paint their bodies, and subsequently, by their successors in the island, to dye cloth and other materials. The bright and deep blue it imparted could not be produced by woad alone; and such was its superiority to that article, that though, when indigo was first imported from the East into Europe by the Dutch, the cultivators of woad in several countries abroad obtained, by prohibitions, a protection for the inferior article, eventually the victory in the contest was won by the new-comer.

Under the Navigation Act of 1660 and an Act of 1663, we restricted the transportation of indicoes of British plantations to England;¹ and though, in the war with France after the Revolution, we taxed the article,

¹ 12 Car. II. c. 18, s. 18, and 15 Car. II. c. 7, s. 7.

in addition to the customs to which it was liable, by what was termed the 'impost of 1692,' imposing an additional 4*d.* the pound upon foreign indico, and 2*d.* the pound upon indico from any of our possessions,¹ this drug and all others used in dyeing were specially exempted from the two increases in the duty on drugs made in the war of the Spanish Succession, in 1704 and 1711, and were, for the encouragement of our manufactures, wholly exempted from duty, by Walpole, in 1721.

Thirteen years after this, the recognised utility of this article and cochineal, in the dyeing of cloths and other manufactures, prevailed against the principles of the Navigation Act; and, on the ground that the importation of them 'should be encouraged in the most extensive manner,' we allowed them to be freely imported, from 'any place where they might be purchased cheapest,' in British ships or other ships of states in amity with Britain.²

Lastly, in 1748, observing that indico had been cultivated with success in South and North Carolina, to encourage the making thereof in the British plantations, we gave for every pound of indico, the product of a British plantation, imported from America,³ a 'reward, premium or bounty' of 6*d.*, which, subsequently reduced to 4*d.*, continued to exist until 1781.

But this policy, to encourage the importation of dyeing drugs as useful to our manufactures, was in-

¹ 4 & 5 Will. & Mar. c. 5, s. 2.

² 7 Geo. II. c. 18, continued 27, c. 18.

³ 21 Geo. II. c. 30.

fringed during the great war with France ; and duties to which indigo, as it was now termed, had been subjected, produced in 1815, in Great Britain, 86,000*l*.

Reduced by Huskisson and Robinson, in 1825, to 3*d*. the pound for indigo from British possessions, and 4*d*. the pound for indigo from other places,¹ the duties at these rates produced, in 1827, 31,378*l*.

The tax lasted until 1845, when it was abolished by Peel, on his second revision of the tariff.

At the same time the duties on cochineal—*coccus cacti*, the little insect, 70,000 of which form a pound of cochineal—which on Peel's first revision of the tariff in 1842 had been reduced to 1*s*. the cwt., were also repealed.

¹ The Tariff Act of 1825, 6 Geo. IV. c. 111.

APPENDIX.

SCHEDULE OF THE ORDINARY REVENUE LICENSES FOR THE SALE OF SPIRITS, WINE, 'SWEETS,' BEER, AND CIDER AND PERRY, IN ENGLAND.

THE licenses are divided into 1. Dealers' licenses, and 2. Licenses to persons not dealers; and the latter are subdivided into (a) licenses for the sale of liquor for consumption on or off the premises, and (b) retail licenses limited to sales for consumption off the premises, briefly, 'On' licenses, and 'Off' licenses.

'Sweets' is a revenue term to include British or made wines, mead, and metheglin.

I. DEALERS' LICENSES.

All the licenses under this head are 'Off' licenses. They expire on July 5, one of the old revenue quarter days.

(i) Licenses to spirit, wine, and beer merchants, as dealers—'Dealer' meaning *person selling a certain quantity, or more, at a time*. Sales of a less quantity are not authorised by the license.

License	Quantity	Price		
		£	s.	d.
Spirits	2 gallons	10	10	0
Wine and Sweets	Any quantity	10	10	0
Sweets only	2 gallons or 1 doz. rep. quart	5	5	0
	bottles			
Beer	4½ gallons in casks, 2 doz. rep.	3	6	1½
	quart bottles			

(ii) Additional licenses to licensed dealers, as retailers—
‘Retailer’ meaning *person selling in less quantities than those authorised by the dealers’ license.*

License	Quantity	£	s.	d.
Spirits . . .	{ Any less quantity, but not less than 1 rep. quart bottle	3	3	0
Foreign liqueurs only	In bottles, or a bottle . . .	2	2	0
Beer	Any less quantity	1	5	0

II. LICENSES TO PERSONS NOT DEALERS.

(a) LICENSES FOR THE SALE OF LIQUOR FOR CONSUMPTION
ON OR OFF THE PREMISES.

Licensed Victuallers or Publicans.

‘Licensed victualler,’ meaning the holder of a public-house license granted by the justices, who may take out such revenue license or licenses as he may require for his business. The licenses expire on October 10, another of the old revenue quarter days.

Licenses	Price
Spirits, wine, sweets, beer, cider and perry .	{ According to the annual value of the house
Wine and sweets, and beer, cider, and perry .	£7 0 0
A combined retail license for these liquors under the Act of 1880	4 0 0
Beer, cider, and perry	3 10 0

Retailers, not Publicans.

	£	s.	d.	
Wine and sweets—wine-house .	3	10	0	March 31
Beer, cider and perry—beerhouse .	3	10	0	October 10
Combined license, inclusive of the above—wine and beerhouse }	4	0	0	” ”
Cider and perry—cider-house .	1	5	0	” ”
Sweets	1	5	0	July 5

(b) RETAIL LICENSES LIMITED TO SALES FOR CONSUMPTION
OFF THE PREMISES.

Wineshops and Beershops.

	£	s.	d.	
Wine, in bottles, and sweets	2	10	0	March 31
Beer, cider, and perry	1	5	0	October 10
Combined license, to retail wine, sweets, } beer, cider, and perry }	3	0	0	„ „
Table beer at not over 1½d. the quart	0	5	0	July 5
Sweets	1	5	0	„ „

Some of the licenses terminate in March, some in July, and some in October, an arrangement which divides the labour of collection and secures a continuous inflow of revenue into the exchequer. When, in 1869, the income tax, previously payable by law quarterly, and in practice collected half-yearly, was made payable in a lump sum in January, and at the same time the licenses on establishments were required to be taken out at the commencement of the year, objections were raised in some quarters to the alteration, not only on the ground that the payment required might prove to be excessive at a time when the taxpayer had also to provide for the inevitable Christmas bills, but also from a fear that disturbance might be caused in the money market by a sudden and excessive increase in the government balance at the Bank. Taxes, it was urged, should be arranged so that revenue should flow continuously into the exchequer; various as the trees of the Phæacian garden, they should be regulated to yield a never-ending succession of fruit:—

Τάων οὔποτε καρπὸς ἀπόλλυται, οὐδ' ἐπιλείπει
Χείματος, οὐδὲ θέρεως' ἐπετήσιος· ἀλλὰ μαλ' αἰεὶ
Ζεφυριή πνείουσα, τὰ μὲν φύει, ἅλλα δὲ πέσσει.
'Ογχνη ἐπ' ὄγχρη γηράσκει', μῆλον δ' ἐπὶ μήλῳ,
Αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ σταφυλῇ σταφυλὴ, σῦκον δ' ἐπὶ σύκῳ.

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